

**SPECIAL
DOUBLE
ISSUE**

DO GRADES REALLY MATTER?

**Why A+ students often end up
working for C+ students P.70**

**Is showing
your
underwear
a crime?
P.18**

**CELEBS
IN JAIL:
FESCHUK
P.103**

**SEPT.
10th
2007**

MACLEAN'S

**9/11. IRAQ.
AVIAN FLU. KATRINA.**

**For Bush-era capitalists, they're not
disasters, they're opportunities.**

An exclusive interview with

NAOMI KLEIN

www.macleans.ca

Display until Sept. 17, 2007
\$5.95



PM 40070230 R 08973

**WHY YOU
CAN'T AFFORD
A LAWYER P.68**



A people-ready business runs on Microsoft software. What helps a people-ready business run like a well-oiled machine? Software that's easy to learn and use, so people can get up and running quickly. Software that integrates seamlessly so information and productivity don't get stuck between departments. Specifically, software like Microsoft Dynamics™ working in tandem with the 2007 Microsoft® Office system. Harmony. When a glorious thing. Microsoft Software for the people-ready business. To find a people-ready business partner please visit microsoft.ca/peopleready/partnersolutions or go to microsoft.ca/peopleready



Listen closely: you can hear
the sound of a **people** **ready** business humming

THIS WEEK

Interview

30 COVER STORY
SHOCK DOCTRINE
Narcis Klein talks to Kenneth Whyte about fundamentalist capitalism and profiting from disaster.

Columns

12 CAPITAL DIARY
Nitchel Raphael on Ignatieff's headquarters and Ontario's film

14 PAUL WELLS
It's autumn in Europe, and the Bulgarians are angry

12 BARBARA AMEL
The class problems in outlining dogfighting

15 ANDREW POTTER
A ban on baggy pants is an attack on counterculture

Netted

34 MANOUE BERGER
Stephen Harper jingles in on his new priorities

30 OUTSPOKEN INFORMANT
The media in Toronto's terror bid admits a cocaine habit

34 UNDERCOVER PROTEST
Geste du Québec's blunder leads City to hot water

36 NO PRIDE IN TRURO
A Nova Scotia mayor's banter, NATO's dilemma

World

32 BEING FRID THOMPSON
The actor turned senator on the pre-campaign trail

40 TURKEY VS. RELIGION
Islamist parties threaten the staunchly secular democracy

42 ISLAM SHELPS BRITAIN
A former U.K. Islamist speaks out against his brethren

44 EYE ON DARFUR
A look-in photograph—at the human cost in Darfur

MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 130 NUMBER 35 & 36, SEPT. 10 | SEPT. 17, 2007 • SINCE 1905 • DOUBLE ISSUE •

2 From the Editors 6 Mail Bag
10 Seven Days

SEPTEMBER 10-24, 2007



P.44

A photo edit hot-touring Canada: Darfur's refugees and rebels

THE BACK PAGES

66 Books

Twists on Biblical tales are the new New York rage

67 Film

David Cronenberg's second stab at gangster movies: The Metropolitan Opera goes the way of Wall Mart

66 Sports

A new time about the House that Georgia, not Ice, built

66 Music

Between the Ideal and MySpace: A good tale is hard to find

66 Business

Canada's no. 1 fashioner/Ma fashion designer goes forward

100 Fame

How Tony Blair got himself smacked for having nice boobs

101 Taste

Authentic wild blueberries vs. the sprayed, mechanized kind

103 Freshcut

Nicole Richie's prize diary: 62 minutes of hell

104 The End

Cindy Delia, 1982-2007

On the cover: Naomi Klein's new book exposes ugly capitalist greed

World [continued]

37 BARNETT AT A GLANCE
A tall-all look on the French president talks not to nothing

38 CARTEL KILLERS
New 'transpire' rules, drug-dealers go down stairs and justice in France

Business

40 MAKING MACAU
Lawrence Ho is building a gaming mecca, and a fortune

42 'NO MORE GIVEAWAYS'
How Newfoundland's premier stood up to Big Oil and won

44 CANADA'S TOP BANKER
The candidate list for David Dodge's top job at the Bank of Canada is long but solid

46 NO MATCH FOR ITUNES
Apple's new music, Cory Doctorow's new politics

Justice

48 NO OFFENCE
Laywers: Two are winning, is justice out of reach for the middle class?

Education

50 GO GRAD'S MATTER
C's students are more likely to change the world than are B's class misdeeds

Universities

56 COUNCIL CORRUPTION
A scandal rocks student politics at a U.C. university

Environment

62 BIG ORGANIC
Once a flapping market, organics are through the roof. And often than ever

Science

64 GORGES OVERGORG
Dams at sea are the green way to go—but not in Canada

Newsweekers

66 FOR BETTER DAYS
For Better or For Worse's creator picks it in Kim Jong Il's chaotic new game for a prince, Doctor's Brian Jorg

COVER PHOTOGRAPH: GILLES ROBERT/REUTERS. TOP: JAMES HAN/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE. BOTTOM: JAMES HAN/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

MACLEAN'S

Megapundit: Chris Selley's daily trip through Canada's go-to pages www.macleans.ca/megapundit
Blog Central: The complete Maclean's.ca blog roster www.macleans.ca/blogcentral/

The Briefing: Philippe Goffier hits all the news you need to read www.macleans.ca/thebriefing

Scott Feschuk's mailbag: Scott answers your queries on current events and life in general www.macleans.ca/feschuk

Maclean's 50: Canada's leading voices comment on the major stories in we cover them www.macleans.ca/macleans50

MACLEAN'S SEPT. 10, 2007

A 1999, 2001, and 2002 recipient of our newswatch award named Meridian's Magazine of the Year honors.

What's going on here?

A little less than two years ago, Maclean's celebrated its 100-year anniversary, a tremendous achievement in the news-and-ops world of modern media. We marked the occasion with a special issue, but we also seized the opportunity to prepare Maclean's for its next 100 years of service to Canadian readers. In the months leading up to the anniversary, we embarked on a massive restructuring of the magazine.

Our first priority was to re-establish Maclean's as a relevant and important voice in current affairs. In a busy world of sound bites and headline news, readers appreciate more than ever a critical and comprehensive approach to news. A weekly magazine is uniquely suited to sort through the flood of national and international events, picking out the most pertinent stories—the material you need to stay informed and engaged.

To cover a greater range of news than it could handle on its own, *the Independent* has recruited *MailOnline* from start to finish and wound up with a magazine containing twice as many stories as before. We adopted a more neutral cover style and publisher designed the solid news opinion and lively writing from nationally and internationally recognized journalists such as Mark Steyn, Barbara Ehrenreich, Andrew Pinter and Scott Rozelle. We opened our international coverage and expanded our arts and cultural content on an entirely new section, *The Back Page*. We also shifted our publishing schedule from a Monday delivery to bring the streets early Thursday. This puts a fresher, more relevant magazine in your hands, and allows us to edit rather than write the second news.

Our new mission is to provide the greatest breadth of journalism but paid dividends to readers. *MailOnline's* report of the arrest

ing poverty in downtown Eugene sparked a furious public debate. The city's mayor initially got himself made irrelevant by losing his bid for our magazine and a wood chipper, but before long he and other Seaside-area politicians were holding press conferences to announce the very reforms recommended in our story.

Marlow's coverage of the Conrad Black trial in Chicago was recognized by media critics around the globe as the most balanced and detailed available anywhere. And over the past month we've sparked national debates on lawyers' ethics as well as the wisdom of mass vaccinations of Canadian girls for a sexually transmitted virus.

Our attention to world news produced provocative cover stories on Vladimir Putin, George W. Bush and Iran's Mahmoud Ahmadinejad—all in the shadow of similar pieces in the *Economist* and *Time*. We expanded our coverage of health and education issues, and we assiduously defended our recovered advertising markets against attacks from presidents of some of Canada's largest post-secondary institutions who would prefer to withhold racial data from the public.

Soon after it appeared, the new *Macdonald* was named Canada's Magazine of the Year at the National Magazine Awards. As well as a doubling of our re-sentated sales over the last two years named as Magazine of the Year between from the nation's magazine distributors. Most importantly, we have continually served our subscribers' and readers' responses to the new *Macdonald's*. We are happy to report that our readers' responses are even more the high praise have an award to ensure *Macdonald's* continues to grow and prosper, we promise you more great journalism and improvements in the months to come. M

[illegible][illegible]

HOW TO REACH US

BY WEBB
For more on the college
entry process visit
www.collegeboard.org

BY THOMAS
To comment on this
column
(800) 761-0761

which features ultra-softly
silky, stretch and pressure
relieving qualities.
Helps ease pregnancy aches,
but fabrics may be suited for
casual, style and clarity.

To schedule an exhibit,
www.hugoboss.com/usa

get more
Hugoboss, 1285 New
Oswest Road, Suite 200
Boulder, CO 80501-2775

Ballistol is a trademark
©1992 T-14-1238
Fax (303) 441-1232

© 2001 Blackwell Science Ltd *Journal of Internal Medicine* 250: 399–405

- **Use our tools**
 - Online sales team
 - Customer Care Services before
- **Report delivery problems**
- **Check your payment**
- **Review your shipping & delivery options**

**FOR A LIMITED
TIME, MAKE A \$100
PAYOUT (SEE LISTING)
IN TEXAS**

MAJ. REFORMS
Environmental and other
organizations are demanding

**Dr. Ross,
Pharm.D.
P.O. Box 990, Denver, Colo.
80202**

or email:
sarah@manitara.co

Customer-Care Timeline

What happens to customers who want new information?
Change your meeting process
Check your account status

TECHNICAL: 800-80-8080
Customer service and technical support information
and all the other services
Marriott's shareholders can
be found on the web

MACLEAN'S

© 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd
Journal of Internal Medicine 255: 115–122

[illegible]

Executive and Technology
 Senior Manager
 Senior Manager
 Senior Manager
 Senior Manager

<p>Senior Director Director, Strategic Planning and Policy Director, Information Systems Management Director, Office Management</p>	<p>Senior Director Director, Strategic Planning and Policy Director, Information Systems Management Director, Office Management</p>
--	--

[illegible]

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
 Department of Management
 University of North Carolina
 Chapel Hill, NC 27599
 Phone: 919/957-1234
 Fax: 919/957-1234
 E-mail: jsmith@unc.edu

HOW TO REACH US

BY EMAIL For updates to the online survey program to survey@cam.ac.uk	BY PHONE To comment on the survey (01223) 326-4704
---	--

WE MAKE
Accessories, Ties, Bow
Ties, Handkerchiefs, Scarves,
Socks, and more. Call 1-800-777-7777.

[illegible]

- Request delivery permits
- Check your payment gateway
- Buy the gift of Microsoft x
- *Microsoft products online*

get a quote
1-800-PLUMB-USA
or 1-800-426-2262
in Toronto

IBAC, INC.
10000 E. 15th Ave., Suite 100
Denver, CO 80231
Tel: 303.751.1500
Fax: 303.751.1501
Web: www.ibac.com

EFMD.
Recherch
 5, Rue WDC Edder Plein
 Roubaix CSE, L57 940

or email:
arash@manitoba.ca

Customer-Care Service
 If you're a fan of the service, you'll want to know that the company's customer-care service is available 24/7. The company's website is www.fox.com.

SHARP.



NOTHING IS LOST

In golf, what isn't seen is as crucial as what's noticed. But even the best players in the world don't pick up on everything. Seeing the game through millions of pixels makes that obvious. On an AQUOS, lost balls are found. Gusts of wind are picked up. The line of a putt is right in front of you. See every detail of every hole with the full HD 1080i AQUOS from the leading innovator of liquid crystal television, Sharp. Learn more at www.sharptv.com



AQUOS
THERE'S MORE TO SEE

Matinee Idol

Screen from a Red Rally as Defence Minister Peter MacKay makes his debut
macleans.ca/yackay

WEB EXCLUSIVES

The Briefing
Our daily updated national affairs blog—offering through the stories, events, personalities and dramas of the day
macleans.ca/thebriefing

Megapundit
There's only one way to know what every columnist in the country is saying—check in with Chris Selley's daily roundup
macleans.ca/megapundit

EDUCATION

University Ranking Tool
Customize your own ranking from our exclusive database
macleans.ca/university

MACLEANS 50
Canada's leading voices comment on the major stories as we cover them

LATEST COMMENTS

Tarek Fatah
"It is unfortunate that people who feel little else how Iraq worked in 2003 are making decisions about how to FINISH today!"
macleans.ca/2006/04/20/tarek-fatah/

BLOG CENTRAL

Paul Wells
Canada's top political columnist finds out how they do it in France
macleans.ca/paulwells/

Luiza Ch. Savage
Our correspondent on the policy, scandal and renowned people's face making news in D.C.
macleans.ca/luizach/

Scott Feschuk
All year opinions, answered. All your weekly roundups. And, coming this fall, all your NFL, college sports! Follow Scott's commentary.
macleans.ca/feschuk/

TOP STORIES THIS WEEK

Poll dance
Our semi-regular look at the national consciousness

The Macleans.ca interview: Doug Kirkland
The top security consultant on Iraq, protestors of Hezbollah, the politics of crowd control, and how best to tilt in with the "mainstreamed" Black Bloc

My movie date with Stéphane Dion
The leader of the opposition and our writer go see Michael Moore's Sicko

A crash course in... Agent Orange

MACLEANS

Advertising rates:
Print: \$100 per line per week
Online: \$100 per line per week
Special rates for long-term contracts and bulk advertising.
For more information, contact our advertising department at (416) 593-1111 or advertising@macleans.ca.

Subscription rates:
Print: \$10 per copy per week
Online: \$10 per copy per week
Special rates for long-term contracts and bulk advertising.
For more information, contact our subscription department at (416) 593-1111 or subscriptions@macleans.ca.

Reprints:
Contact our reprints department at (416) 593-1111 or reprints@macleans.ca.

Back issues:
Contact our back issues department at (416) 593-1111 or backissues@macleans.ca.

Permissions:
Contact our permissions department at (416) 593-1111 or permissions@macleans.ca.

Classified advertising:
Contact our classified advertising department at (416) 593-1111 or classified@macleans.ca.

Photo credits:
All photos are the property of Maclean's and are used under license.

ROGERS

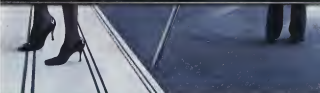
Financial Services Group
Rogers Financial Services Group is a leading provider of financial services in Canada. The group includes Rogers Insurance, Rogers Securities, and Rogers Wealth Management. For more information, contact our financial services department at (416) 593-1111 or financial@macleans.ca.

Media Services Group
Rogers Media Services Group is a leading provider of media services in Canada. The group includes Rogers Television, Rogers Radio, and Rogers Digital Media. For more information, contact our media services department at (416) 593-1111 or media@macleans.ca.

Technology Services Group
Rogers Technology Services Group is a leading provider of technology services in Canada. The group includes Rogers IT Solutions, Rogers Network Solutions, and Rogers Security Solutions. For more information, contact our technology services department at (416) 593-1111 or technology@macleans.ca.



WE WERE COMFORTABLE IN CLOTHES THAT DIDN'T FIT.
AND SO WERE OUR INVESTORS.



When a very successful men's fashion company lentched a range of women's clothing that fit runway models but not paying customers, its stock fell out of favour. But we listened. Because we knew that this was just a temporary setback for a great company, that would quickly put things right. Sure enough, it did. The stock rebounded. And the value of our investment quadrupled in less than four years. Ask your advisor about AIM Trimark or visit aimtrimark.com

Knowing Pays[®] AIM TRIMARK[®]

Commissions, selling commissions, management fees and expenses may all be associated with mutual fund investments. Mutual funds are not guaranteed, their values change frequently and past performance may not be repeated. Please read the prospectus before investing. Copies are available from your advisor or from AIM Trimark Investments. AIM, the AIM logo and all associated trademarks are trademarks of AIM Management Group Inc., used under license. *Knowing Pays, TRIMARK and all associated trademarks are trademarks of AIM Funds Management Inc.

'For those who tolerate a bullying boss, there is consolation in knowing that what goes around, comes around'

THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING

[illegible]

ARE YOU SURE that's Russia you are talking about? "Neo-fascist, ultra-nationalist"? Right caption, wrong photo! Don't you have one of George W. Bush on file?

Peace Nuns Coalition, Ottawa

HAVES GATHERED that you like your Russia overgrown dog, faithful to the time the Putin is leading Russia back to fearful opposition at home and aggressive confrontation with our interests abroad. Still I don't know your story despite sincerity of a master public policy. To quote Putin with Huxley to insult not only the Russian president but the Russian people, who respect and love the election of their leader for his leadership in removing the shadow of their state after a decade of painful chaos. Given that Western society promises made to Russia have been broken, that treaty obligations with it have been abandoned, the NATO has been subtly expanded, that nuclear arsenal and new weapon development have been so advanced in Washington, that U.S. military intelligence has watched their patrols of international airspace (with the

complaint I've heard from us), and that the fearful alarmism in your story is about par for the Western racist course, it's no wonder Russians are profoundly provoked.

Chris Wright, Chelms, Que.,
Canadian Ambassador to Russia, 2003-2006

VLADIMIR PUTIN is sophisticated, intelligent and possesses a certain degree of finesse. He is a reformer who clearly sees the enormous benefits in Russia pursuing American-style economic and industrial growth to move his country forward. Indeed, Putin is creating a "new Russia, ultra-modernized," not least on



Soviet-made "monsters" Russia is turning out to be an economic powerhouse propelled by abundant natural resources, young, Tarlo-modern technology, and an insatiable desire to conquer the world. Beware America! The sleeping giant is all too ready to rise to the challenge of the modern world under the able stewardship of Vladimir Putin. Once fully emerged, Putin's Russia will be a formidable force.

—Chris DeWald, *Windsor*

BAD BOSSES

IT'S ABOUT TIME that *Madison*'s wrote about bullying bosses and what some people are doing to get even. ("You 'F' N A?!" *Business*, Sept. 3) I worked for such a man in the fashion business. He still continues to be a bully, routinely singling out people for minor issues and torturing the company's employees as a whole. Sadly, his reign of terror continues unabated by his European masters because

of the enormous gains he contributes, year after year, to the bottom line. New prospects continue to keep walking through the front door as the battered run out the back because this company is viewed as a great starting point in the fashion business.

Anthony Ricci, Toronto

THANK YOU for your article on bullying bosses. The list of bad behaviors you mentioned like shouting, abusive language and slurs during doses is not exhaustive. Others include: excoing pigments, lying about a person's educational credentials and placing anyone I've written criticism in a personal file with out even notifying the person affected. Legal actions in time, but for those who have suffered from a former boss who was a bully there is only the consolation of knowing that usually what goes around, comes around.

Michael Wood, Toronto

AN ENEMY OF *Employee of a large grocery chain*
I endured a hell on earth for over 15 years. Not only did I put up with harassment from career crooks, but I was continually held down intimidated by a manager. As a result of going over his head, I was continually subjected to his harassment and threats. I became physically sick and depressed and my performance did suffer. The manager took delight in terrorizing me. I find it laughable for such a big grocery-making corporation to have out of touch such employees. It is not apparent to corporate executives that it's the employee on the floor who makes the machine run? I'm really glad I'm not there anymore.

DOG DAYS

IN YOUR EDITORIAL, "Hounded by the pack," Sept. 3, you compare Michael Vick's motive for man and dog fighting and the resulting public outrage and consequences to other senseless acts of various athletes and state that, "Vick's case will stand out as disproportionate at best, and deeply hypocritical at worst." What you seem to overlook is the fact that the outrage was directed not so much at the dog fighting, which in itself is a despicable act, but more at the killing of the dogs by electrocution, strangulation and starvation. Anyone who goes to jail for the barbaric, torturous

Be anything but obvious.

[illegible]

Self-winding mechanical movement. Daifree has introduced a brand-new self-winding mechanical watch during a short time decomposition rope. Inactive crystal, screw down crown, waterproof to 30m or 50m case as well





DAY IN AFGHANISTAN last April. Perhaps he has changed; a reader says, "Sgt. Day was!"

ing of violence, helps in convincing neither human nor animal, but a monster, and as such deserves the harshest punishment.

Sandra Hayak, St. Charles, Ont.

SPEAKING OUT

WHAT A GOOD news story ("An Aboriginal 'glamor'," National, Sept. 3)! For the two young people from Canada have been recognized for their courage in the Aboriginal situation for fear of offending or being labelled racist. However, when one of them speaks out locally and nationally it is not for everyone to make note. The status quo is no longer feasible for Canada nor for the Aboriginal people. Chief Phil Fontaine and others have passed their "best before" date. In intelligence, hardworking, realistic people such as Clarence Louie take the lead and bring Canada and all its people out of this quagmire.

Mary Ann Neagard, Kitchik, Ont.

A NEW DAY?

I READ WITH VERY much interest your article on our country of public safety ("The time lines of freedom") (National, Aug. 27). As an Alberman, I remember when he was in Ralph Klein's first government and said such things as, "I want to know how many women in Alberta are physically abused and not just married by their husbands. If we talk, we'll find out how many, then I'll ask them if they're going to come to some of abusing my wife." Or how about the girls: "There is sexuality in a normal disorder that can be cured by counselling." This he said in 1992, using his power as a provincial cabinet minister to challenge the human rights case of Deloris Weirand, a gay Alberman. They say she

or fresh-lip, boys bringing attention to the concerns about such a program will hope fully help bring a more serious approach into the mainstream.

Sandra Perrin, Edmonton

TO DATE, there is no evidence that either of the HPV vaccines have significant side effects, other than minor discomfort of short duration at the injection site. These vaccines are safe based on the vaccination of tens of thousands of women. Your article extremely easily refers from the Canadian Women's Health Network, an organization not involved in any research for trials and not a proponent of any vaccine or referral on our trials. So-called medical experts from this group oppose pneumococcal vaccine to HPV vaccine in terms of raising an alarm that HPV vaccination will result in either HPV strains becoming more prevalent. This comparison is inappropriate. Bacteria and viruses are different species and oranges for lemons, regular Pap smears are an important component of regular health screening and will continue to be required with or without vaccination. Pap smears are safe, but not as effective as you suggest. The risks, including those at a safe surgery to prevent cervical cancer is less than with surgery. In providing a safe and effective option for protection against a common sexually transmitted virus which causes cervical cancer, we are acting wisely.

Dr. Barbara Romanowicz

Clinical Professor, Division of Infectious Diseases, University of Alberta, Edmonton

AFTER READING your article about the potential danger of Gardasil, I write that the influence of pharmaceutical companies is so overwhelming that we will offer a generation of youngsters in service to their profits. Have we learned no lessons from the disastrous effects of thalidomide and the synthetic estrogen diethylstilbestrol (DES)?

Laurel Alper, Toronto

THIS MASS DISSEMINATION of young girls to an absolute abomination ("Our girls are too gorgeous"), Health, Aug. 27. Unfortunately most people are too stupid to realize that the only women in this inoculation controversy are the pharmaceutical companies.

William Ferguson, Bradford, Ont.

THIS MASS DISSEMINATION of young girls to an absolute abomination ("Our girls are too gorgeous"), Health, Aug. 27. Unfortunately most people are too stupid to realize that the only women in this inoculation controversy are the pharmaceutical companies.

William Ferguson, Bradford, Ont.

THIS MASS DISSEMINATION of young girls to an absolute abomination ("Our girls are too gorgeous"), Health, Aug. 27. Unfortunately most people are too stupid to realize that the only women in this inoculation controversy are the pharmaceutical companies.

William Ferguson, Bradford, Ont.

THIS MASS DISSEMINATION of young girls to an absolute abomination ("Our girls are too gorgeous"), Health, Aug. 27. Unfortunately most people are too stupid to realize that the only women in this inoculation controversy are the pharmaceutical companies.

William Ferguson, Bradford, Ont.

THIS MASS DISSEMINATION of young girls to an absolute abomination ("Our girls are too gorgeous"), Health, Aug. 27. Unfortunately most people are too stupid to realize that the only women in this inoculation controversy are the pharmaceutical companies.

William Ferguson, Bradford, Ont.



'I am in favour of charging for plastic bags, but 20 cents is not enough. If shoppers were charged \$1 a plastic bag at all stores, they might think twice and use canvas.'

the approach you took. I felt a great sense of pride when I am referred to by my husband's first and last name. In society that does not seem as important as a diploma or a degree, but my husband's name with pride, and I surely hope that the Prime Minister's wife does so.

Cathy Bakerman (Korowak),

London, Ont.

CONSTITUTION and Immigration Canada must work hard to weed out those potential neo-fascists of Canada who would foster radicalism. The key to this article is the fact that even allowing small numbers of radical ideologues into the country will open their attitudes and destabilize our society. The overseas human rights groups who say it is wrong to weed people out because of their beliefs is

FEELING THE LOVE

MY EXPERIENCE WITH the Alibi Network dating service was very similar to those of the people you talked to ("\$1,500 to date this date?" Health, Sept. 5). They didn't mention any person over the phone, and when I was down with my sexual attraction, I had never had such a bad one of viceroy shock in my life! Eventually, I ended up paying around \$2,000 to meet four people. One of the nasty problems I had was that I would hear relatively little about the potential match before having to decide whether to meet them or not, and when I considered that each person involved was going to cost me one-quarter of my membership fee, I decided I was going to wait until someone I was interested in came along. The conditions seemed to get very impatient with me. While I am sure that there are some satisfied customers out there, this service is not one I would recommend.

Paul Penhance, Ajax, Ont.



"MRS. HARPER is a charming committed Canadian. The Prime Minister is lucky to have her."

THIS CONCERNING the issue comments about Mrs. Stephen Harper. I must say I enjoyed your article. Mrs. Harper is charming, vital, committed Canadian wife and mother. Prime Minister Harper is lucky to have her.

Joan P. Mitchell, Victoria

perhaps the most dangerous. Our potential dangers must be based on the fact that they contain a serious cause here they will be exposed.

Sue Skidmore, Edmonton

TERRORISM AT HOME

YOUR ARTICLE on Pakistan terrorism erroneously cites Toronto Muslim leader Ali Haidy as a radical ("The radicalism of our times," World, Aug. 27). The reality is that Haidy has consistently opposed terrorism and plays a crucial role within the observant Muslim community of disarming radicalized youth from turning to violence. It is exactly this type of indiscriminate labelling that will not only miss targeted targets of any potential terrorism on screening, but will also exclude any individuals that play essential functions. Our best hope is to stop alienating Canadians (like Haidy) who will, and work with them to encourage the youth to maintain their own responsibilities.

Abu Manaf Al-Tarawany, Toronto

TROUBLED WATERS

I WAS INTERESTED when I saw your piece about the New Brunswick government's announcement regarding its plans to replace a concrete bridge over the Miramichi River near Moncton ("Unhappily Canada's worst river," Montreal, Aug. 27). But this is not a simple decision. The measurement was taken with many charts. It was also not with the government's. A climate of global warming is creating a head pool created by the mercury gain in melting over legal action in order to force the government to cancel the project. There are also concerns that opening the river will cause environmental issues, particularly if it was to flow through the city of Moncton's old dump along the riverbank. I'll wait until my drive home is disrupted by construction before I believe it.

Jon Hudson, Riverview, N.B.

IN PASSING

Grace Paley, BA, writer and activist. Although the period only three short-story collections, including *The Little Disturbance of Men* in 1999, show frank sexuality and irreverence toward men, she is known for her wit and her wit. She was also known for her wit and her wit. She was also known for her wit and her wit.

Raymond Burr, BA, actor and politician. One of France's leading actors, he was instrumental in developing the European Union's common economic policy. The author of *Economic Policy*, a compilation of his decades of work as the nation's prime minister under president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing from 1976 to 1981.



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF LAUREN CAITLIN UPTON

On Friday, Miss Teen South Carolina unleashed a stream of gibberish during the Miss Teen USA pageant, having apparently misheard a question on why many Americans can't leave their country on a map. Upton prattled manly about education standards in Iraq and South Africa, and wound up fourth in the competition. But Internet clips of the goof made her famous over the weekend, drawing millions of hits and landing her a Tuesday appearance on NBC's *Today Show*.

Good news

Cast out

Resolving disputes without showing up your counterpart is a prized diplomatic skill. But Foreign Minister Maxime Bernier got it right this week when he refused Sudan an apology over the expulsion of Naida Lawlet, Canada's chargé d'affaires in Khartoum. Lawlet was sent packing for the unforgivable offense of seeking the release of political prisoners. Days later, the Sudanese government demonstrated the true level of its persona by expelling the local head of the venerable U.S.-based aid agency CARE on unrelated accusations. If anyone is owed an apology here, it's Lawlet. But we're not holding our breath.

Gone-zales

The resignation of Attorney General Alberto Gonzales brings the Bush administration one step closer to clearing the air with voters and U.S. lawmakers. Like Karl Rove, the senior adviser who stonewalled his resignation in mid-August, and former defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Gonzales was plagued by basic doubts about his honesty—in this case, whether he misled a congressional inquiry into domestic surveillance programs. While the White House defended him to the end, his departure adds George W. Bush's real choice to how he's capable of conducting the nation's business in good faith. He had no hope of doing so with Gonzales—or for that matter, Rove and Rumsfeld—still in the fold.

Justice, delayed

It was no failure on occasion, but Clinton's appellate court bid, both Steven Trosser and the justice system right this week when it acquitted the Clinton

men of wrongdoing. 12-year-old girl. Trosser, now 62, was condemned to hang for the 1979 killing of Lynette Haegele near Clinton, Ore., and wound up serving 19 years in prison. His daughter's campaign to clear his name went on, though, no doubt swayed some Canadians as a staggered to an end. But the sense that Trosser wrongly bore the stigma of a killer had become a burden to anyone who cares for natural justice. Case closed, and thank heaven for it.

FACE OF THE WEEK



LAST WORDS Alberto Gonzales, the former U.S. attorney general, glances down ruefully while announcing his resignation.

Mmm... beeeeer...

Layabouts and couch potatoes rejoice! Services may save you yet. First came news that the Dublin Donuts fast-food chain and Raskin Rabbitt, the ice cream folks, were joining other big-name food/life in its eating trans fix from their instant Nectve learned that a French study has found moderate drinking—say, 12 oz. of wine or beer per week—may reduce heart's chance of developing kidney cancer by up to 40 per cent. Next? Horser Sanguin, the next cover model for *Men's Health* magazine.

Bad news

Deadly weekend

Pity the authorites railed with making sense of two fatal accidents in B.C.'s Fraser Valley. On Friday, a hot air balloon burst into flames as it took off from a Surrey field, killing a woman who was celebrating her 50th birthday, along with her daughter. Heers later in Abbotsford, a pickup driven by a 75-year-old man crossed a hill on a country road and slammed into a train, killing a 60-year-old woman and injuring 17. Reaction

the Oct. 7 killing. The alleged victim read? Why, a distinctly Chechen known to Russian police as a "contract killer." Chechens, evildoers, never considered the peaky reporter, known for exposing Russia's human rights abuses in Chechnya, might have been close as by agents loyal to President Vladimir Putin. Quite the opposite, he says. Politkovskaya likely fell victim to foreign provocateurs who seek to discredit Russia before the eyes of the world. Round up the usual suspects!

Stealing home

Economic nationalists are bemoaning the loss of yet another Canadian company to foreign buyers, with U.S. Steel's \$1.6-billion take-over of Hamilton's Inco. But the acquisition brings the promise of new investment and stability at a struggling producer that was, until early last year, selling under bankruptcy protection. Of greater concern to Canadians should be our dearth of successful corporate champions ready to invest and invent in heavy industry. Rather than bashing plans to block foreign takeovers, our ear givers would be better spent trying to foster domestic companies capable of expanding abroad.

The Unforgiven

Cazals, the other woman in Prince Charles' marriage to Camilla, has bowed out of a memorial service marking the 10th anniversary of the death of the Prince of Wales. Diana's zombie film threatened to get Camilla with eggs but she attended the event—large thing in view Diana's son, William and Harry, who had shared the same. The prince has insured in the interview. Surely it's time for Camilla to do the same. ■

Dell® recommends Windows Vista® Ultimate.

DELL™ YOURS IS HERE



A VEGAN DIDN'T LOSE GREEN.

Introducing the new Dell INSPIRON® notebook. New with HD widescreen, fast, long-range wireless®, and the option of 5 exciting colors, which allows you to show your true personality. Inspira™

New Dell INSPIRON notebooks with Windows Vista® Ultimate

starting from \$979*

Work and play, at home or away.

Dell recommends Windows Vista® Ultimate – get the power, security and stability features to work on the go. PLUS, get all the entertainment features for a premium home digital experience... all in one.



Windows Vista Ultimate

GET YOURS AT WWW.DELL.CA/ULTIMATEDELL 1-866-961-DELL

*This makes our models 13.3 inch wide, 1.5 inch deep, 1.5 inch high. All prices are approximate. Actual prices may vary. Dell and Inspira are trademarks of Dell Inc. © 2007 Dell Inc. All rights reserved.

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON IGNATIEFF'S WIFE'S HEIRLOOMS AND AN MP'S CURIOUS 'FAN'



MP NASH just couldn't say no

HOW IGNATIEFF'S WIFE GOT THE BOOT

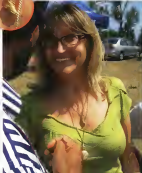
Ever since her arrival on the Ottawa political scene, Michael Ignatieff's wife, Zsuzsanna Zsóka, has been spotted wearing a gold boot on her neck. The unusual trinket, it turns out, was first owned by Ignatieff's grandmother, a Russian princess named Natasha Menshchikova. When the princess was being courted by the Liberal deputy leader's grandfather, Count Paul Ignatieff, a progressive education reformer in Czar Nicholas II's cabinet, her brother was assigned to catalogue the couple. When she finally agreed to marry the count, the brother, who had always walked behind them on their dates, was relieved that he wouldn't be wearing out his feet now. So he had a tiny gold boot created, which he gave to the couple for their engagement. In Ignatieff's memoir *The Russian Album*, the MP tells the courtship story. "But in his book, the boot is silver and that is not silver," says Zsóka as she points to the necklace she has worn since 1999. Always worn, after Zsóka married Ignatieff, another cherished family heirloom was given to her: "The Sultan's Star was a beautiful diamond and turquoise necklace given to Michael's grandmother," says Zsóka. "When they had to leave Russia they broke it up into small

visual elements and were able to take it with them when they went into exile. After that, each of the sons was given one star for their prospective wives. This tradition was handed down from father to son. Michael gave his star to his first wife, so Andrew, Michael's brother, who had his own star and never married, gave it to him to give to me."

THE MAN WHO LOVES LIBBY DAVIES

Over the summer the NDP's House leader, Libby Davies, has been hanging out with drug users and harm-reduction activists and advocates. She fears the Conservatives will not renew the special permit allowing her, the self-drug injection facility in her Vancouver East riding, to stay open past December 30/07. The MP contacted then health minister Allan Rock to lay the groundwork for trade. It opened under the watch of Jack's successor, Anne McLellan, in September 2005 with a three-year permit.

ZSO KA wearing her Ignatieff family heirloom



The current health minister, Tony Clement, renewed the permit last summer, extending it to the end of the year. Davies has held forums in Whitehorse and Toronto and has meetings planned for Calgary, Halifax, Ottawa and Vancouver to seek support for her Campaign for a Consistent Sense Drug Policy. While she waits in Toronto, an old bearded man showed up at the forum. Davies says he came to every event she attends in Toronto, "announcing 'I love Libby,' and that he's from East Vancouver." When the speeches were over and the Q&A portion of the forum began, he was the first hand to shoot up. Toronto NDP MP Peggy Nash, who was chairing the forum, officially recognized the man, who mentioned a few things, asked a few questions, then forgot the rest of what he wanted to say. When Nash closed the Q&A portion, he moved his hand dramatically again. Davies was hoping Nash would be firm about the no-more-questions, but the guy



CHOW and Layton with the bike that lost its guiding spot

in and let him speak once again. The man let out a collective silent groan. Later Nash confessed to Capital Diary she was always the parent who couldn't say no to her kids.

THE MYSTERIOUSLY MISSING SIGN POLE

In Leslie Lake NDP MP Oshane Chow will have to find a new spot to park her bike when Parliament resumes. The sign pole outside the West Block, where her office is located, has mysteriously vanished. Chow always locked her bike there, even in the snow. The bicycle with the basket contained in plastic flowers secured to the pole was a signal Chow was on the job. (Sort of like when the Governor General's flag flies over Parliament to announce he is there.) Chow's husband, Jack Layton, would occasionally use the same pole for his bike. But the NDP leader who uses a "No Parking" sign pole by the Centre Block that keeps cars from blocking the space where Stephen Harper's room made someone wait for the PM. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa updates or to contact Mitchel Raphael, visit mitchelraphael.com



Beauty is everywhere. We all deserve to see it.

Whenever they grace the sky, birds in flight are a wonder to behold. But for many people in the developing world, that sight is obscured by blindness, a condition that for millions is actually treatable – even preventable. This is the calling of Operation Eyesight. We're a Canadian non-profit organization, working since 1963 to support the local efforts of eye doctors, optometrists and others in places like South Asia and Africa. Together, we're creating a world of change. Expert medical teams are restoring vision to people from all walks of life. Education and skills-building programs are helping them take the tide of eye disease. And more people are seeing the beauty all around them, and above them. Share our vision. Contact us to learn more.

1-800-585-0265

www.operationeyesight.ca

OPERATION EYESIGHT
UNIVERSAL

For All The World To See

Autumn in Europe, and the Belgians are angry



PAUL WELLS

The other day a reporter asked the prime minister of Luxembourg whether he'd like to take over most of Belgium if that country should fall apart. Jean-Claude Juncker sounded surprised. He should, because his tiny grand duchy is less than one-sixth the size of Belgium's Walloon and Brussels zones. Taking them over would be like the goldfish swallowing the cat.

Still, it has come time to consider extreme possibilities in Belgium. That devout and prosperous country is actually further from having a coherent government today than on the day of its parliamentary elections almost three months ago. Worse, the divisions run straight across linguistic lines. When still, decades of near-constant constitutional tinkering—remember Mischak-Luke? in Belgium it never ended—has left just about everybody fresh out of bright ideas.

Belgium's future finally laid a just one of the spectacles Europe has its eyes on after a long summer. But as the world event for little—the new Septanet Duchy of Luxembourg—will still be less than half the size of Nova Scotia—if they weren't all about slavery and money, the key legislation in most of the Committee's article this nation's identity—who is legitimate and who isn't? Money—who gets what, and by whose rules?

Still in Brussels, another big story will be a demonstration by anti-Islamist groups on Sept. 11. The date coincides with the debate over identity—European, Western, religious, ethnic—rarely given as much importance as on that day. Groups with names like Stop the Islamization of Europe, God Help Britain and Politically Incorrect have staged thousands of protests across Europe to demonstrate in Brussels against Islamic fundamentalism. The city's Socialist mayor has banned the event, fearing violence. Organizers say they'll march anyway. It will be a long day.



Will Belgium split? Will the Polish twins find new political friends? Stay tuned.

have done everything to blow the opportunity for reconciliation that she represented. Poland's efforts have been made to agree to declarations that they never collaborated with the Communists, a nearly unanimous claim to what was a totalitarian state. Opponents who joined the minority government became the object of ostracism, expulsion and, some have claimed, malicious smear campaigns by the security. The country is heading for an early election because the Kaczyński haven't found anyone they can work with. Poland matters because it is the largest of the new European states that joined the EU in 2004, but far from the richest. It has lost so many of its strongest links to Ireland and the U.K. it could lead Europe if somebody of integrity and imagination could only lead Poland.

Imagery and imagination are prizes when you find them. Germany, France and Britain are still testing the merit of their new leaders. On balance things look pretty good

for them. Gordon Brown comes off less brightly than Tony Blair, Nicolas Sarkozy is more brightly than François but these presidential photographs, but he understands the old ways are broken and he is industrious about looking for ways to fix them.

Angela Merkel, awkward, ascetic, and awkward, may just be the star. Despite loose meetings of European leaders saying Sarkozy is a setback while Merkel is about results. She has held coalition together with all the star her Polish countrymen lack, and it has continued the difficult economic reforms. Gerhard Schröder started before her. So Germany's economy after more competition than France's, which is why Sarkozy signals about the high value of the euro and the Germans.

IF YOU'RE USING THE SAME TOOTHBRUSH AFTER 3 MONTHS, YOU MAY AS WELL BE BRUSHING YOUR TEETH WITH THIS.



Indicator Bristles

After just three months, you'd be surprised at how much less effective your toothbrush can be at removing plaque. In fact, a new toothbrush removes up to 30% more plaque.* That's why Oral-B® - and only Oral-B - has blue INDICATOR® BRISTLES that let you know when it's time for a new toothbrush. SO BRUSH WITH ORAL-B.™ AND SMILE.

After just three months, you'd be surprised at how much less effective your toothbrush can be at removing plaque. In fact, a new toothbrush removes up to 30% more plaque.* That's why Oral-B® - and only Oral-B - has blue INDICATOR® BRISTLES that let you know when it's time for a new toothbrush. SO BRUSH WITH ORAL-B.™ AND SMILE.

None of these debates attacks upon Canada's economy. But as a new political season begins, I do not worry that I am away from the scene. Quite the contrary. W

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/talkshow

Oral-B
Brush like a Dentist™

Good luck if you've got nasty underclass tastes



BARBARA AMIEL

Michael Vick/Vick could be an NFL legend. He was born out of wedlock to a 16-year-old woman who already had one child. When he became a disciplinary problem in school, his mother urged him to make up sports. Until his recent troubles, the 27-year-old quarterback of the Atlanta Falcons had an endorsement income totaling over \$10 million and a skyrocketing salary.

He freed the usual pitfalls of celebrity athletes with high testosterone and intense to match in 2006 he started a dogfighting and lottery run by a woman who alleged he sold her with genital herpes. Hundreds of thousands of North American football fans, who they did not get from Vick's area, but normally they care with a moral rather than legally. Giving back for the finger cost Vick a \$100,000 fine plus a \$200,000 to charity. Last January, Vick was reluctant to surrender his 20-oz. bottle of Aquafina to support screens. Though still investigating that Vick's venereal bottle was reinfected with a counterpart for not rational, no change was laid.

Vick's behavior is unsurprising for a 27-year-old male athlete earning millions. Until the July 17 dogfighting charges surfaced, it hadn't be due of his contract. This is one his trial by media. Three other accused coped plus bargain, one in exchange for joining the finger at Vick. Prosecutors favored with new indictments of Vick himself didn't agree to plea bargain. I know the game backwards. Whether or not you have feelings about dogfighting—and personally I think it vile—watching the pit bull tactics of American justice makes dogfighting look better. Vick gave in. "This has already cost him hundreds of thousands in lawyers' fees," said one legal commentator. "A trial would cost him millions."

It takes a hero or a madman to fight the US Department of Justice, and Vick's lawyers want



I'd as soon lay down my life for my three dogs as see them in a dogfight. But...

for a proper defense. Within a week, Vick pleaded guilty to one charge in exchange for "cooperation." It's a fingering other people. That this approach to justice is an outrage seems a matter of indifference to Americans. Farewell procedure, what about the crime? In gladiatorial human sports such as boxing, wrestling and especially mixed martial arts, there's a good chance of injury and, occasionally, death. I find such sports sick-making, but participants enjoy themselves. There's no idea how dogs feel about fighting. They get severely maimed or killed, but the "sport" is apparently enjoyed by huge numbers. Just because many of us find it distasteful and brutalizing does that justify outlawing it?

I wouldn't outlaw bullfighting, fox hunting or shooting birds, which makes me question why I am sympathetic toward outlawing dogfighting. Clean and cause play their role for hunting is considered upper class and dogfighting is seen as a vice of the cultural

underclass. Dogfighting is gaining popularity in Russia and Afghanistan, where it was outlawed by the Taliban. I support it's up forward for both countries, which formerly used people rather than dogs.

In America, dogfighting is big business. All states legislate against it, though rural areas being a specialist in dogfights or owning fighting dogs. Normally Vick would have been charged by the state, but the feds used the vehicle of interstate commerce for jurisdiction, allowing antitrust provisions to target that high-profile accused. The selective prosecution of Vick aside, the further question remains: does any government have the right to legislate against entertainment simply because some people find it cruel and repellent? I have three dogs myself and I'm seriously down my life for them to see them in a dogfight. But whose tastes are to be the law of the land? My justification is that dogs, including pit bulls and mestizos, are domesticated animals and using them for so-called entertainment is uncivilized. But what right do I have meddling with between "good" blood sports and those my class and culture consider to be bad ones?

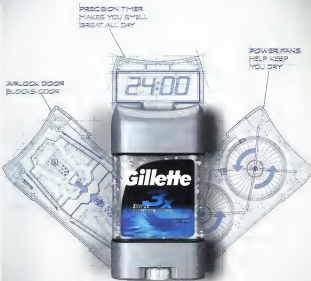
The American law against dogfighting is essentially a sumptuary law. Historically sumptuary laws on luxuries and entertainment largely reinforced class distinctions in 17th-century Japan, peasants could not use umbrellas, in the English Middle Ages certain types of birds could be owned only by the aristocracy. Sometimes sumptuary laws enforce the morals of one group with prohibition. Justly they enforce heads views to

with anti-smoking laws. Still, everything in life is ultimately undesirable, jogging can give you a heart attack, not smoking may increase risk of Parkinson's disease.

There are two kinds of people in the world: those who believe they have a right to outlaw whatever is offensive to their aesthetic or moral sense and those who don't. Normally, I belong to the second group. There was a brief window in Western civilization when the second group appeared to be in ascendancy. That moment was called 19th-century liberalism, but it quickly passed. In the 20th century, Michael Vick gets it coming and going. He's a high-profile athlete he's a natural target for a predatory legal system, and he's got a deadly many underclass tastes so he's a natural prey for formalist elites. He can be "legally" shamed and no one will give a damn. Justice can just go to the dogs. ■

barbara.amiel@madison.rugers.edu

THE CONCEPT BEHIND OUR TRIPLE PROTECTION SYSTEM



GILLETTE CLEAR BLADE ANTIPERBURN WITH TRIPLE PROTECTION SYSTEM

Gillette®

www.guything.com

What's beneath that ban on baggy pants?



ANDREW POTTER

What are we made of: the growing campaign against baggy streetwear? Last week, the city of Atlanta introduced an ordinance that would ban baggy trousers that show boxer shorts (for guys) or low-slung pants that reveal thong straps (for girls). In doing so, it became the latest in a long lineage of paternalistic and paternalistic laws, in the United States and the U.K., that have moved to police gangster fashion using what amounts to dress codes.

Of course, the precedent for the ban is public safety. When Imperial College London banned hoodies from its campus back in 2005, college officials gave it as a matter of security. The ban, which included jackets, was directed at any clothing that obscured a student's face and interfered with the ability of seniority guards to search a person's face to the person's face ID card. Similarly, part of the rhetoric against baggy pants is that such capes and hoodies and oversized fields of cloth make it all too easy to conceal knives, guns, drugs, and other illegal paraphernalia.

There is no question that, in the upside-down status signaling of urban street theater, the point of wearing gangster gear is to convey the message that you are a criminal. No one says "I've been to prison" like holding your belt and shoelaces, while every drug dealer knows that the trick to keeping warm while selling drug bags on a cold street or in a store is to dress in buyers—a bag under a hoodie, with a bag pulled out on top.

But at some point, a legitimate concern for safety turns into the official harassment of a minority underclass—or perhaps of people laying claim to that identity—and it is not always easy to know where one trespasses the other. As an example of an easy case, residents of Harlem were justifiably outraged a few weeks ago when local residents started attacking a line of New York Yankees caps as

going against the Yankees red and pinstripes (blue in Harlem, wearing (or not wearing) one of these colors in the wrong place can get you killed), and only after a strenuous protest by community activists did the manufacturer agree to pull the caps from store shelves.

More often than not, though, a style or type of clothing is targeted for reasons that are more about public morals rather than public safety. The sponsor of the Atlanta ordinance, city councilor C.T. Martin, more or less admitted as much when he proposed it as an amendment to the city's indecency law. Since that would be the same part of the municipal code that bans having sex or masturbating in public, Atlanta has not itself the rather bizarre proposition of preparing to treat wearing hoodies or X-rated images less so than wearing hoodies and exhibitionism.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that many people oppose the intended actions of these sorts of dress codes laws on the grounds that they are just racial profiling masquerading as a public safety initiative. The objection is that banning hoodies or baggy pants is inherently

All temporary laws are expressions of official fear or displeasure and upper-class dissonance, and their main function is to reinforce the aesthetic and moral sensibilities of the dominant social class.

Acknowledging that this is what is going on with the gangster gear actually makes the job of figuring out what to do a lot easier. We live in a wildly pluralistic society, characterized by deep disagreement over aesthetics, morality, and how these can change to the good life. If the clothing choices of one or more groups are causing too much social strife, then one possibility is to issue a national uniform and make everyone dress exactly the same.

Before we go off half-cocked, though, it is worth remembering that we actually had a de facto public uniform, not so long ago. Take a look through avoid places allows, any time before 1964 or so, and see the extreme conformity of dress across all social classes. Ladies wore dresses, not trousers, and no man would appear in public without a suit and a hat. But that widespread national

Zoot suits, once popular among blacks and Latinos, were deemed 'extravagant of fabric'



disenfranchisement, since they are part of a lifestyle that emerged out of a specific type of black culture, which continues to be dominated by black youths. I don't take it as sharp to recall the racism in the air here, especially given the fact that president of the 1940s. The large baggy suits, popular among New York blacks and Los Angeles Latinos in the '30s and '40s, were banned by the Federal War Production Board on the grounds that they were "extravagant of fabric." The ban was followed by the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943, when sailors on leave in Los Angeles started beating up any Mexicans they could find wearing the outlawed suits.

In fact, these sorts of dress codes are just the direct descendants of the old temporary laws that once protected the aristocracy, by regulating the types of fabric, styles, and colors that commoners were allowed to wear.

So why was prohibition by the government, considered as just another brick in the oppressive wall of mass society. Well, bottom line: because all the rage, based on the dapper gentleman that if you tried your sibling your mind would follow.

It isn't a long way from peace and love to Gladio and girth, since hippies and gangsters are just wearing out different variations on the same status-to-the-man concept. If we find it difficult to recall all these look-out there staring about with their pants around their ankles and their heads swathed in what appears to be lilies' options, we should remember that their choice of clothes might differ from the choices of their parents in style, but it certainly does not in intent. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.andrewpotter.com/andrewpotter

CRV C PERFORMANCE

At 8000 rpm the line between race car and pace car blurs.

The Civic Si is more than capable of holding its own on the track. It comes equipped with a Formula One™ inspired 197-hp i-VTEC™ engine, a 6-speed close-ratio manual transmission, and an 8000-rpm redline. Plus it also benefits from the addition of a limited-slip differential. All the things that make a car powerful and quick on its feet. To learn more about the super-performance Civic Si, visit honda.ca.



STYLING: ANDREW POTTER



'We are going to see more hurricanes, more terrorist attacks. We are in shocking times, and I want people to be more shock-resistant.'

NAOMI KLEIN TALKS TO KENNETH WHYTE ABOUT WAR, FREE-MARKET FUNDAMENTALISM AND A BREED OF POLITICOS WHO THRIVE ON DISASTER

Q There's a school of thought that free markets and democracy go hand in hand and together they make people free and prosperous. You're arguing that free-market ideology has triumphed around the world not because people have embraced the market but because the ideology has been imposed on them, often in moments of disaster. Furthermore, these moments of disaster have sometimes been created by governments as a pretext to bring in free-market policies. Is that it all off, the policies haven't really worked. They've just revealed the people who introduced them. That's that for a momentary?

A: That's pretty good. I would quibble with a few things. I don't believe that there are examples of the governments themselves creating the crises.

Q: Okay. Or violence inherent in capitalism or is that something that's recently invented out of capitalism or it's been practiced over the last several hundred years?

A: I think you can make that argument. But the book is really looking at a new breed of disaster in the world of capitalism. It's about a battle of ideas between Keynesians—mixed economy, which is what we have in this country—and what I describe as a fundamentalist version of capitalism which has an objection to the very idea of mixed economy. What these sort of fundamentalist capitalists do in a way that a concerned mixed capitalist would, it's usually corporations, China, being one example.

Q: Give me the attributes of fundamentalist capitalism.

A: They're almost the antithesis of every fundamentalist: the desire for purity, a belief in a perfect balance, and every time there are problems identified they are attributed to particular, disastrous factors what would otherwise be a perfect system. I think you are this from religious fundamentalists and from New or fundamentalist. And I would argue that [American economist] Friedman and [University of Chicago economist] Milton Friedman shared the dream of the past system. Those two brilliant mathematicians, in many cases, as it looks perfect in their model but. I think anyone who follows how with a system is dangerous, because the world doesn't comply and then you get angry at the world.

Q: Do you have these economists advocating for this pure form of capitalism—what is the attraction of disasters to these people?

A: Well, disasters are moments where people are blasted out of the way, where they are in a state of shock, whether they're seen in it—as after a hurricane in New Orleans—or just picking up the pieces after being bombed, or their entire world view has just been shattered—as after Sept. 11. There are

realizable political moments. And there is an awareness that disaster creates these opportunities, so you have a whole movement—result of it stemming at the ready-writes the think-tank infrastructure. I think of these think tanks as sort of idea warriors—they keep the ideas ready for when the disaster hits. Milton Friedman said that only a crisis real or perceived, produces real change, and when that crisis hits, the change that occurs depends on the ideas that are lying around.

Q: Let's talk about Chile. This is a country that when it was it, about 1976, Allende was elected. He was a social democrat, socialist, came into power but didn't get along with the United States, as sure to be friendly to Castro and the Soviet Union, and successive American presidents are highly suspicious of him.

A: It was Nixon and Kissinger together. I read the book with a quote from a declassified letter from Kissinger to Nixon where he says that the threat of Allende was not about any of the things they were publicly saying at the time—that he was cooping up to the Soviet Union, that he was only pretending to be a democrat and that he was going to turn Chile into a totalitarian system. Kissinger outlines the threat to the problem of social democracy spreading. The Soviet Union was a convenient bogeyman. It was easy to take Stalin, but what was always more of a threat was the idea of democratic socialism, a third way between totalitarian Communism and capitalism.

Q: And you said they feared that more than they feared the Soviet Union in the context of the Cold War?

A: Well, if you follow the coups, the interventions of [Vivian Mosen] Mendelsohn, [President] Aylwin in Guatemala—these are the first two CIA coups in the '90s—these were democratic institutions, and it was always the worst potential setting up the bogeyman of it's really a Soviet regime in disguise. So I follow the coups, what we're in a crisis to emerge out, systematically, and then a crisis to the democratic ground. And they use a threat to U.S. foreign investment, there's no doubt.

Q: So Allende's overthrow by Pinochet Pinochet has a great deal of support from the United States and from the economists of the Chicago School, and it is well known to have engaged in mass murders and various forms of brutalizing war and oppression, and you are that in an integral part of the program, really, of installing this new economy in Chile?

A: The idea that you could turn Chile into a laboratory for extreme Chicago school economics is a little like thinking you could launch a revolution against capitalism in New York City. It was a deeply inhospitable for these ideas. But this collaboration between Pino-

chet and the economists would go to the University of Chicago on grounds from the U.S. State Department, Chile was a laboratory for all these ideas that to this day have been implemented in the United States, like a 13- to 15 per cent flat tax—tax cuts, labor laws essentially made in that direction to be involved in any political activity. Straight out of the handbook, you know? It would they took Pinochet's conditions and you turned it into law. The idea that this could



'Disasters are malleable political moments—people are in shock, blasted out of the way, their entire world view has been shattered'

happen in Chile at this point in history when there was no much support for development, lots of course required time.

Q: Now that's a lot about terror and brutality and the shock of massive change and what it does to populations, and you're in it as part of the mandate of the economists, that that was the only way to severely shock and convert people—to get them to change their behavior and accept a new strategy.

A: There was, and continues to be, an understanding that unless there is a massive crisis that makes the alternative look even worse, then people just don't give up things that make their lives better, whether it's an employment insurance or public housing. I mean, look in New Orleans. People wouldn't have given up their homes if there hadn't been a natural disaster. Now, they didn't plan the natural disaster but I can tell you I was in New Orleans a week after the hurricane hit, while it was still half under water, and the newspapers were quoting a Republican congressman saying, "We couldn't clean out the housing project but God did."

Q: Let's go to China, which was another laboratory of the same sort. I'm the last one to want to apologize for China because I see it as a repressive state and not really an open economy, but that's not. I don't know if there have been experiments in freedom and being made. They're going from from free market to free market or something. How do you see it?

A: The idea in China right now is not off-congruency. There's a new school of intellectuals in China—they call themselves China's new left—and they're criticizing the party. The government, the Chinese state, is so truly worried about the levels of inequality that have opened up between the countryside and the city and between the upper-end and the lower poor living side by side. And it's responding in two ways. One is to do some redistribution, which is really outside of the Chicago model. You have major new investment in the countryside, you have a commitment to waive school fees for the first nine years for rural children, because they were \$1000 a year in China last year—in an absolute sense, so clearly someone's not happy with how things are going in China. The second thing is, we're seeing to see the extraordinary ways in which China is embracing a laboratory for new socialisms to put people under stress of circumstances that would have been impossible under Mao. There was just an article in the New York Times about

how Shenzhen—the port city where the export processing zone model was born—is now this testing ground for business deregulation. They said that have everything from your landlord's phone number to your reproductive history to your credit history to your police record. They are looking the way to turn of everything CCTV cameras, there are 100,000 of them in one city—and all the police are equipped with GPS. I mean, it's totally not what is going on there. So, to say that's an opening up and some sense of you have this extraordinary level of surveillance, that's wrong. The full complexity of some of the largest technology responses in the world—this system was built by Microsoft.

Q: And everyone from Google to Yahoo is playing along.

A: In 1989 the discourse of these big communications companies was that to liberate—satellite television was going to bring freedom and democracy to China. And now it's almost like that technology, with the full complexity of these same companies, has been ripped, and that's being used for control.

PHOTOGRAPH BY TED KOSI



corruption and freedom, they are now risks for laissez-faire surveillance. So I don't think we've even begun to see to terms with what's going on in China, but supports my thesis pretty strongly because what you see, I would suspect is that China is an extraordinarily profitable country.

What I think Klein shows is the idea that there was a natural correlation between capitalism, between free markets and free people—it simply isn't the case. China's entire ideologies very close imitation at they've copied the democratic faith completely, just stopped it, and added up with this thing that, I think, should be described as corporatism, that is the standard not just in China but also in Russia, in the United States, in Chile under Pinochet. It was the same pattern of heavily indebted states, actually quite authoritarian governments but operating on behalf of corporations, against workers.

Q With reference to the Chernobyl, tell me what you see.

A Well, what I see—if we bring it back to Fukushima—is a very explicit political campaign against the New Deal. You know, he wrote that battery took a wrong turn after the 1990s. There was a consensus, after the market crash, that what had gone wrong was that the market had become too regulated and too small that it was simply too limited. The New Deal came to everybody's mind as a kind of capitalism, which did much more redistribution. And it wasn't because people were rich, there was a bundle of ideas between Communism and capitalism, and in the 1930s and '40s and '50s and '60s it was capitalism in a seductive phase. And as statements of socialism were inserted into this model so that it was a more realistic version of socialism but less authoritarian. I'm quoting HDB and Keynes. And that

model actually was the period where you had the most rapid economic growth, but it was more fairly distributed. This was the period where the middle class really grew, not just in the United States but in countries like Chile and Argentina. And then kind of a disaster was waged—a right-wing class war.

Q At what point?

A In the U.S. it starts with Reagan. I've talked about the University of Chicago as an ideological and an intellectual movement, but wasn't purely an intellectual movement, it was very heavily funded by Wall Street. And the decision around what was a center—revolution against Keynesianism was about the class of the United States being rich and liberal of sharing as much of the wealth with the workers in the United States. In 1980 the gap between CEOs and the workers who worked for them was 43:1 and now it's 423:1.

Q But then also lots of evidence that those more authoritarian haven't had much success. The United States is still very much a mixed economy, and if you look at spending on retirement programs and Medicare and Medicaid and government spending as a percentage of GDP, it's higher than it was at the start of the center revolution.

A But the money doesn't go to the people. The U.S. health care system gets the money to the HMOs. Look, I don't believe these guys are ideologues. Ideology serves as a sort of a cover story to maintain intense personal enrichment. If you look at what I call the neo-capitalist complex, the seventh most successful company on the planet list is an HMO that has gotten rich off of the uninsured soldiers coming back from Iraq, because Bush's political prevented health care for soldiers

Taranto—we're talking about humanitarian disaster response with the U.S. Well, that's a pretty scary idea because I consider the Bush administration to be an administration of disaster capitalism who make their money selling drugs for thousands and pandemics, AIDS drugs, hurricane response, like Michael and Hillary. These are people who are seriously doing something when things go really badly. I don't think Canadians should be working with them. Whether the counter-revolution has succeeded, I think it has succeeded in opening up this incredible inequality. The American workers are weaker than you're New Deal.

Q So, in the U.S. the great mass of working class people are better off than they were pre-New Deal, I don't think anyone would want to go back to the administration levels that they were at or the time.

A Minimum wage in the U.S. doesn't even come close to meeting the poverty line. Q I'm not saying it couldn't be higher, just on the whole. We're talking aggregate of working class people.

A Well, it is a story in inequality, to agree guys are realizing. Whenever we add it all together and divide it we end up with figures that gloss over the past 30 years, which is a story of worsening up to a point. And when you go back to the ideological campaign's success that attacked us in the public sphere than you have someone like in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina where there was no disaster, that the public interest doesn't work, the disaster response comes off of handing out DVDs and telling people to run for their lives.

Q Do you see significant differences between how the Clinton administration behaved in their regards and the Bush administration?

A There's something deeply wicked about the Bush administration. The Clinton adminis-

'In a situation like hurricane Katrina, you see that the state is so decimated that the disaster response consists of handing out DVDs and telling people to run for their lives'

tration did everything it could to advance this agenda. They leaped off the arms of the state and all that was left was the core, and the Bush administration has denuded the core and turned the government into an empty shell. They've privatised the army and given it to Blackwater? It's what we're seeing now with bridges collapsing and the car's disaster, as Paul Krugman calls it. You knock on the door of the Department of Homeland Security and the entire thing is compromised.

Q Okay, let's talk about Iraq. You don't see U.S. involvement in Iraq as a misguided attempt to bring peace and democracy to the Middle East, or even a well-planned chess for the weapons of mass destruction, you see it as a wealthy society using terror to find new markets and new profits for capitalism.

A I think it's complex. I think it is a re-batting of a teaching the world lesson—"This is what happens when you mess with the U.S."—meeting to re-fight the Gulf War, the fact that the military had been playing war games with Iraq for the previous 12 years. All of that contributed, and all I also think there are people who really did believe that they were going to build a model in the Middle East, but I have to tell you that I think that is the sickest rationale of them all. Sometimes this is described as ideologue, also idea that we could just turn Iraq into a model free-market democracy and it would spread throughout the region. That idea is morally disgusting, and the violence that has engulfed Iraq is inherent in the violence of that idea.

Q You acknowledge in the book that it's not unusual for new ideas—whether they be pro-market or anti-market or any other kind—to be opportunistic, to seize openings brought by disaster, or even promote disaster in order to make opportunities, and you see revolutionary Marxism as paving the way for this.

A I've always said this idea. As little talks there's always somebody who's going to take the risk and says, "But don't things have to get worse before anything happens?" and I think those people down because the values that I would hope we represent are human values, and that is such a profoundly anti-human idea—I'd describe a disaster as there can be some shock that will wake people up.

Q That's just how politics works, isn't it?

A It may well. You know, I wrote the book because I think we should know our history a little better. I do think more disasters will come. All of the statistics would indicate we

through our disaster world, knowing that is also democratic, but to just keep our heads.

Q Do you see an increase for capitalism in particular countries? Indeed, for example? If you look at the human population over the last 10 or 20 years there are a lot fewer people living in extreme poverty than there were.

A Indeed. Most of those statistics are about China and India, countries that are an alarming rapid economic, and what a dollar means if you're living on a farm and growing your own food and have access to water and what movements are there on the outskirts of Delhi, is completely different. But of course there has been economic, and there are wonderful things about living in a capitalist country—benefit from it, you benefit from it. We've been forced into believing we can't have the benefits of a market system unless we destroy the bridges that'll allow more people to have that access. And when we do things like, in this country, triple trillion lives over the course of the '90s, and private health care, and take over these bridges between classes, we have a very brutal economic line.

Q It's been a privatized health care.

A No, but that is the agenda, and it's not nearly being deeply ordered.

Q So would you be happy with a market economy if it distributed wealth better?

A Absolutely.

Q You have to cry to figure out your politics and I can't.

A I think the idea of going to be a lot of medical leftism who would be disappointed by Ray Kurzweil this book is.

Q For you a Keynesian advocate of a mixed economy?

A I think I'm a realist.

Q You have never been active in politics?

A No. I vote NDP.

Q But you are a leader in a lot of people, and you believe in democracy and it's election, and it would seem a natural step.

A Thanks for the career advice.

Q It's not advice, I was asking!

A Maybe it's just at this time, because I enjoy the research process so much—I love it—and politics is so different. But I'm not—I think it has to be a political concern where if there was sort of a political project that engaged it.

Q Would you do it in Canada?

A Yeah, that's the only place I would do it. But probably what I would do would be more on the sort of policy work side.

Q Yes mean get involved with the government?

A Think, or like a... I don't even think of it as a government, Ray, because I just think we'll lose! I won't get past the campaign! ■

HARPER'S NEXT BIG FIVE

The Tories' priorities for this fall won't be as simple as the last ones

BY JOHN GEDDIS • Stephen Harper was not supposed to be the kind of prime minister back when he was power on Jan. 15, 2006, two things seemed clear. First, his tiny early looked weak, fully 38 MP's short of a House majority, so it probably wouldn't last long. And, second, his conviction-driven style

of politics meant Harper wouldn't be inclined to make the compromises or play the angles needed to cling very long to power. But he has defied those expectations, emerging at the pilot of an improbably long-lived minority. As he hunkers down now with his close advisers to devise a strategy to carry him through what might well be many more months as Prime Minister, Harper is being evasive as to ways that couldn't have been predicted. "It's a chess game," and one veteran Conservative strategist, who asked, for

HARPER must shake off his past and closely resolve and show his more adaptable qualities

obvious reasons, not to be quoted by name. But he didn't react to it as an insult. For Ottawa operatives of all persuasions, Jean Chrétien's name is usually invoked with admiration these days. It's short-hand for a prime minister too much, doing what's necessary, and holding together an electoral coalition broad enough to win elections. Chrétien, though, was known as a political pragmatist long before he took over the liberal party. Only in his seventh, controversial, round of reelection was he admired as uncorruptible. Harper, a lawyer by trade, took off the old signs of staid middle-classness in more adaptable qualities. The question is whether, in the process, he will end up looking to voters like a more mature leader, or merely another politician who is less certain about where he stands than he once led them to believe.

Since he landed in the driver's seat, Harper has repeatedly swerved. Afghanistan? Last spring he declared he'd take it to the people in an election before submitting to the opposition parties on Canada's future fighting the Taliban. By this autumn, however, he had acquiesced to demands for a vote in the House before trying to extend the military mission in Kandahar beyond 2009. Taxes? Back when he emerged the old Canadian Alliance and Progressive Conservative brands, broad-based tax cuts were among the five goals laid down as bedrock policies for Harper's new Conservatives. Yet in power, he has pulled out the brakes, like credit for parents and recent voters, and finally issued his own tax "fixes" company strategy and "taxes low"—in effect, from an unproven, at best, as a slogan. Global warming? The former climate change skeptic now sits at the top of his agenda. Quebec? He once rejected joining Quebec's national, in Prime Minister he declared the Quebecers a nation.

All these adjustments came about as Harper was finding ways to survive through his first 500 days in power, up to the point where the House broke for the summer. Mentally hanging, no matter how many compromises he might have to make, it is a strategic necessity as Harper strives to achieve his real goal: backing the Conservatives onto a force capable of replacing the Liberals as Canada's national governing party. At University of Pennsylvania political science professor Richard Johnston, a leading analyst of Canadian elections, said in a recent lecture at Harvard, "If they can keep the Liberals out of power in Ottawa for a stretch, the Conservatives may displace the Liberals of their unique claim—as the only party probably able to balance the interests of Quebec and the rest of Canada."



ASSERT SOVEREIGNTY

Timing up water users is less politically risky than explaining to Canadians how their future relies on Afghanistan

Heading into the fall, Harper's challenge is to craft an agenda that's ambitious enough to give his government a sense of mission, but not so controversial that he lands the opposition parties anxious reasons to fill his minority and fight an election. It was easier back in the early months after his government took office in early 2006. At that point, few expected a privileged stretch of minor rule, so a cry, come to do the fighting. Harper's five top priorities—starting with a new ethics and government law and a percentage point shaved off the goods and services tax—did the trick. By spring, his party was cruising above 50 per cent in the polls, levels not seen by federal Tories for nearly two decades, and, more importantly, major party victory.

Since then, though, Harper has not been able to sustain a run of upsurge popularity numbers. Despite a week spent in Stéphane Dion's tenure as official opposition leader, the Liberals no more with the sinking distance. And a Harper appears to be losing his aura of prime ministerial resolve. A recent Decima survey found that 46 per cent of Canadians do not think his government has a clear agenda. Perhaps even more surprisingly, given Harper's old reputation as a hardline right winger, an Angus Reid poll last spring discovered that 41 per cent don't see any federal priority beyond representing Canadian conservatism.

But HARPER FINDS his work cut out for him persuading Canadians that he knows who he is and what he wants to do. Most Ottawa

analysts now expect him to try in the next time-honoured way: rather than call the House back in mid-September, he'll likely announce a new session to begin next October, with the symbolic first act as a speech from the Throne. Speculation about the detailed content is now consuming pundits, political aides and press lobbyists. The broad strokes, however, are clear. Harper has repeatedly laid five objectives recently, most for early when he shuffled his cabinet on Aug. 14: strengthen the federation, assert and defend Canadian sovereignty, keep the economy strong and taxes low, tackle crime, and protect the environment.

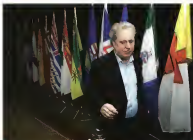


KEEP THE ECONOMY STRONG

Not federal spending has grown and Harper isn't promising any major tax reductions

That leaves eight room for praise of leadership and respect for the prime minister behind the steady subject headings, the outburst of policy blueprints are just coming into focus. If strengthening the federation sounds like the last controversial of projects, consider that this was also the goal of the Mechi Lake and Chertowen waters. Harper has made no secret of his desire to limit the ability of Ottawa to meddle in jurisdictions that constitutionally belong to the provinces by spending money. However, it's clear the federal government is not in a rush to build out, by offering only with policy terms attached. "We want to let the federal power to spend unilaterally in provincial jurisdictions," Harper said at a recent MP's meeting in Charlottetown this summer. "We have to be able to talk with the provinces. There are some processes that are more concerned in the idea than others, and I hope we will make progress on that objective next year."

The most sensitive province, not just provincially in Quebec. Premier Jean Charest recently announced that he wants bilateral talks with Ottawa to restrict federal spending. So far, however, Quebec is turning for



STRENGTHEN THE FEDERATION

Quebec's premiers begin to defend themselves, but small provinces welcome policy leadership

an administrative deal, not creating the Commission. The big question is how the other provinces will respond. Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty has already said he doesn't favour new restrictions on Ottawa Senators, less efficient provinces also tend to welcome federal policy lead early, and the dollars that flow with it. Social policy also comes first changes that would provide active incentives from the feds, like the last Liberal government's push for national daycare, which Harper swiftly dismantled.

Thomas Courchesne, director of Queen's University's School of Policy Studies, says Harper's case of maintaining Ottawa's spending as a bid to fend off what has already emerged in practice. In fact, unilateral federal incursions onto provincial turf of the sort Harper says he wants to outlaw are very rare. (The last notable one was Clinton's creation of so-called Millennium Scholarships, which were viewed as an effort to the provinces' jurisdiction over education.) The benchmarked benchmark used by former prime minister Paul Martin and the premiers in 2006, which allowed Quebec to opt out but still get the money, is a more substantial example of the sort of deal involved call "open market." Older models also exist: Quebec has long had its own pension plan, running parallel to the Canada Pension Plan. "Provinces need to solve all this," Courchesne says. "But now Quebec wants structure."

And Harper wants to offer Quebec voters reason to believe that he is the federal leader most open to their aspirations. Last year, he subtly and pointed his way in recognizing the Québécois as a nation. He made good on a campaign promise to give Quebec special

status on Canada's delegation to UNESCO, the UN cultural organization. All this looks like a strategy to court the soft-nationalist vote in Quebec that helped hand him a majority two Tory majorities. It's the same represented in Quebec City by the Action Démocratique du Québec party, which helped a breakthrough in last spring's provincial election, and in Ottawa by Foreign Minister Martin Bernard and Heritage Minister James Moore, both presumed to draw current points on Harper's recent cabinet shuffle.

It's not clear how far Harper is willing to



CRACK DOWN ON CRIME

New legislation would send a message of deterrence — immediate, tough, tougher sentences for violent offenders

go in trying to shore up his support among Quebec nationalists. He once saw the strategy as a losing proposition. Back in 2002, when he was running to lead the Canadian Alliance, he warned against relying too heavily on Quebec nationalists, as Tories had done before, in a bid to co-opters with the Liberals. Such co-opters might briefly bring Conservatives to power, he reasoned, but they ended in "disaster." Instead, he said then, a federal party of the right needed to "understand the long-run work necessary to become a desirable option in Quebec, acceptable to a significant number of Liberal as well as non-Liberal voters."

Co-opting away traditional Liberal voters in Quebec will be difficult these days with nationalists Don leading the party. But the ADQ rise might offer Harper an opening to appeal to naturally conservative voters in Quebec who have usually supported the Bloc Québécois in recent elections. "The ADQ breakthrough shows there is a substantial opinion in Quebec that Stephen Harper could be comfortable with," Johnston says. "There's a substantial body of culturally and economically conservative opinion in Quebec that has nothing to do with nationalism as such." Still, the reality is that the ADQ tends to want a severely limited federal presence in Quebec, and Harper can only go so far in interesting himself with that camp. "He faces the same general strategic conundrum as any Conservative leader has in the last century," Johnston adds, "which is to start out with a kind of anti-Quebec bias and try to build a kind of anti-Canada bias over time."

Afghanistan illustrates that problem. Harper's base in the West and parts of Ontario's generally support the military mission there. Opposition is strongest in Quebec. For Harper, Afghanistan has been the defining element in the new face for Canada he has tried to project into the world. "His work is about more than just defending Canada's national interests," Harper said when he made his surprise visit last year to deliver 1,000 troops at Kandahar Airport. "His work is also about demonstrating an international leadership role for our country."

But does that leadership role now carry an expiration date? "If we need further efforts or further mandates to go ahead into the future," Harper rose during a speech in a debate on Afghanistan in the House, "we will... go to the Canadian people to get the mandate. That turned out to be obvious. He has since accepted that he can't extend the combat mission beyond 2009 without parliamentary approval, which seems all but inevitable with the Liberals, Bloc and NDP all against it. Inside the military, at least some officers fear the government is failing to do an Afghan-

PHOTO: GUY LAWRENCE/GETTY IMAGES

When the goal is healthy-looking hair, start at the line of scrimmage.

The advanced Head & Shoulders® MedoZinc cleansing formula contains 6X more moisturizing™ leaving your hair healthy looking and free of visible flakes! If the goal is healthy-looking hair, be strategic. Start by playing at the scalp with any of the nine different dandruff shampoos.



head & shoulders

THE INFORMANT

The Mounties' man in the Toronto terror bust admits a cocaine habit

BY MICHAEL PRISICOLANTI • Mubin Shaikh stopped outside his apartment in a fresh cigarette, and peered back the plastic lid on his Ten Horizon office (medium, with four windows and four fagars). A black toque covered his eyes from the February cold, and a pile of newspapers leaning against the door. Shaikh, 31, a Pakistani-born, long-length, black, and standing on the front stoop outside his building. "I would have had to turn over my passport and find a new place to live, because it would be over for the Muslims in Canada. It would be over."

By then, Mubin Shaikh was already a household name—the young, charismatic Muslim who told the world that he was paid \$100,000

to work as an undercover agent for the RCMP. Countless Canadians had watched him on national television, recounting how he spied on some of the 18 suspected terrorists arrested in Toronto last summer. Yet there he was, months after the sensational raids, standing in plain view outside his apartment—the very same one that Fakhri Ahmad, the group's alleged ringleader, and his wife. "People know where I live," he said. "But I'm not afraid of anybody I've met in the D-Net, born and raised, and I ain't going anywhere."

Shaikh kept his word. Today, he still lives in the same building. His phone number hasn't changed. And his faith—in both Allah and his decision to work for the Mounties—remains unshakable. "This is my destiny," he says now. "I realize that more and more. Along the way, Shaikh has realized something else: being the public face of Canada's largest anti-terrorism task is, as he puts it, no barrel of money. "Many in the Muslim

community still resent him for "betraying" his brothers. Some are convinced that it was Shaikh who urged them to act, then set back and counted his cash while the others went to jail. In April, his reputation took another well-publicized hit when Toronto police charged him with assault after he allegedly shoved two Grade 7 students.

Then there was the cocaine. Born a cocaine addict, Shaikh's habit, the burden of being Canada's most famous profile became too much to bear. And when it did, he turned not to God, but to his drugs. "I spent some money on it, money that I shouldn't have spent," he admits. "The stress of my involvement was too great. Nobody has been through the situation that I have been through, and because of its impact and importance and significance—that is one hell of a weight to realize is on your head. It got so bad for me, it just broke me. It just broke me."

Shaikh, 31, has always been honest about his younger days. He was a partyer, a pot smoker, took gay who liked to drop LSD. After high school, though, he quit cold turkey and rededicated himself to Islam. He travelled the world, visiting Egypt, Iran, and other Muslim countries before spending two years teaching in Syria. He also married his wife, Fouzia, 30, a Pakistani-born Catholic who converted to Islam. They now have four young children.

But last July, after Shaikh went public with his role in taking down the "Toronto 18," the fame proved more than he could handle. "What I was going through was so intense that I can't even verbalize it," he says now. "It really, really struck the core of me, because I was disappointed. I was disappointed with the Muslim community." Shaikh was shocked, he says, that people were questioning his motives. While visiting a local halal shop, one woman berated him for taking the money. "I said, 'Excuse me, are you angry? So if somebody comes and robs your store, you are you going to call 'Tabah' or 'Bin Laden'?" She then told him that she supported his actions because of his honesty. "I was alone. I got back into my old friends, and I started doing it again," Shaikh says he thought "a couple thousand dollars" worth of cocaine over a so-

lution. Right now, police investigators are testifying at a preliminary hearing for the 14 adult suspects (what they've said is secret; the court proceedings are closed by a sweeping provision). Shaikh is scheduled to take the stand next. Defense lawyers can hardly wait. "I think it's essential that the Canadian public is made aware of the extent to which these young men were manipulated and deceived by CSIS agents," says Dennis

CSIS has been warring both sides, and some of their associates, for months already. But Shaikh would help break the case wide open. He gained their trust, joined them at a mosque "training camp," and learned and allegedly helped them plan to blow up the Toronto Stock Exchange, storm Parliament Hill, and behind politicians and the government agreed to pull its troops out of Afghanistan. When the Mounties took over the

THE ARRESTS touched off a firestorm, and some have vilified Shaikh for co-opting it with the camera. But it's not his role in the Muslim community, he says.



THE BURDEN OF BEING A KEY WITNESS AGAINST AN ALLEGED TERROR

CELL BECAME TOO MUCH TO BEAR, SO MUBIN SHAIKH TURNED TO DRUGS

Editor, *Police Affairs*—I am one of those agents in an admitted drug habit with a powerful personality."

THE CANADIAN Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) first met Shaikh in 2004. He approached the agency after reading about the arrest of Muslim extremists.

Investigation, Shaikh was one of their men. The force paid him an annual \$75,000, and later topped up his compensation to over \$100,000 (Shaikh didn't leave it at the time, but authorities had a second role on the inside, an undisclosed Muslim businessman who was paid \$1 million for his undercover service. He helped a case group of suspects allegedly purchase what they thought was ammunition in 2004, the same explosives dealer used in the 2005 Oklahoma City bombing. Unlike Shaikh, however, this is a new role for witness protection programs). "I am a Muslim, and my ethics are within the truth," Shaikh says. "I know that what I represent is true" (none of the allegations against any of the suspects has been proven in court, and all are considered innocent until proven guilty).

In the coming days, Shaikh will face his former "friends" for the first time in more than a year. They will be sitting in a "batter-proof" prison, he says, hanging on his every word. "I would be lying if I said I'm not a little bit nervous to meet their eyes," he says. "To meet their eyes for the first time—to try to connect some of them that's not me that you've arrested, it's not that you've arrested—that's going to be difficult. But I will be thankful." Shaikh knows what's coming. He knows he will be grilled about his past. The criminal



mouth open, and before long, a few casual shots had belatedly into a full-blown bust. "There were a couple of times when I got real scared because my heart rate started skyrocketing and I had to call an ambulance," he says. "I started realizing: 'Oh my God, what have I gotten myself into?'"

He finally placed his RCMP credentials and told them the truth: They handled him into rehab. That's not exactly the type of news prosecutors like to hear. Much of the criminal evidence in the case—from wiretaps to non-cooperated interviews—was collected with Shaikh's help. He is the government's star witness. If his credibility is tarnished, if his motivations prove to be even the slightest bit transparent, it could be a damaging blow to the

an Ottawa man accused of belonging to a London-based terror cell. Shaikh knew Khawaja's family, and offered to tell CSIS everything he knew. The spooks were impressed. A former Canadian army officer with a background in martial arts, Shaikh was a devotee of his neighborhood mosque, a volunteer for the Liberal Party of Canada, and among the most vocal advocates of controlling Islamic Sharia law in Canada. Ironically enough, some in the Muslim community considered him an extremist. But it wasn't long before Shaikh was working part time for the spy agency, trading inside information for cash. In November 2005, he was awarded his biggest assignment yet: get to know Fakhri Ahmad and Zakaria Anwar,



SHAIKH, 31, has returned to his old life in the lower Toronto apartment. But the stress and pressure, he says, "left a mark on"

ARND BRONKHORST/REUTERS (2); MICHAEL PRISICOLANTI

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL PRISICOLANTI



THE SQ ADMITTED that three supposed protesters were really officers in disguise, causing a political embarrassment for Bloc Québécois

CROSSING THE LINE

The Sûreté du Québec's latest blunder may still cause Ottawa trouble
BY JONATHAN GATHEHOUSE & MARTIN PATRIQUIN

It was an off-the-cuff remark that Stephen Harper might come to regret. As he welcomed George W. Bush to the North American Leaders' summit in Montreal, Quebec last week, a reporter asked the Prime Minister what he thought of the protests outside. "I've heard it's raining," Harper said at the summit. "A couple of hundred? I'm not."

But what happened is that small-scale demonstrations have quickly become the only thing about the three-day meeting to register with most Canadians. A failed attempt by a trio of undercover Sûreté du Québec officers—masked faces, rods in hand—up the street, and perhaps several, a peaceful protest. The daily horse-sides of the confrontation between a union leader and the disgraced officers have already generated hundreds of thousands of hits on YouTube. And, as calls grow for a public inquiry, the incident is shaping up as yet another embarrassment for Canada's police, and a political headache for governments in Ottawa and Quebec City.

The protesters don't look good. A City paper spraying of protesters at Vancouver's AGSC summit in 1997 resulted in an embarrassing five-year political investigation of the RCMP (also charged of security at the Marbelli meeting) and perhaps the worst sound bite of Jean Charest's career. "For me, people, I put it on my plate."

Two years later, the Liberals seem keen to put the Tories through the same wringer, calling out Public Security Minister Stockwell Day for obscuring the RCMP's role and

responsibility at the summit. "On the one hand we have Stockwell Day saying the RCMP was responsible for all Montreal security," said Liberal justice critic Madeline Juenke. "The RCMP has contradicted the minister and said everything outside the fence wasn't their jurisdiction. He doesn't even know who was charged." Sylvain Roy, the former democratic public security critic, is making up the same case in Quebec, saying an inquiry is

CONTROLLING PROTESTERS HAS BECOME A POLICE FIXATION EVER SINCE THE 1999 RIOTS IN SEATTLE



ANALYSTS video captured the confrontation

the only way to determine who is telling the truth—the SQ or the protesters. Day said his Quebec counterpart, Jacques Dupuis, are to be holding fire against such demands.



But whatever the eventual political fallout, it's already another blunder on the Sûreté du Québec's controversial record. In the 1940s and '50s the Québec Provincial Police, as it was originally known, earned a famous reputation as a brutal extension of Minister Duplessis's reign as premier, barring, attacking and killing on his political opponents. Since it was renamed the Sûreté du Québec in 1967, Quebecers have become accustomed to their periodic "job actions" in which officers wear blue jeans, grow beards and write letters for even the slightest deviation of the speed limit—mad and true pressure tactics. It was the 1989 Oka crisis, however, that brought the force world-wide notoriety. A botched SQ raid against Mohawk protesters resulted in the death of one officer and

triggered off a 79-day armed standoff. (Ironically enough, the force blamed its tarnished reputation on English Canadian media, which said was later over the Metch Lake scandal.) In the mid-1990s, there was further humiliation with a series of revelations about sex tips, red wine connoisseurship and police parties that sparked a provincial inquiry and led to a downing of the force. "That inquiry is no right," says Canadiana policing expert Doug Kirkland. "They don't really care about anybody except themselves."

The latest scandal, however, seems to revolve around a more universal concern for police forces these days—public contempt and control. Ever since the infamous "Barricade in Seattle" in December 1999, when riotous anti-globalization activists engaged in one

FIGHTING THE BULLIES OF AFGHANISTAN
"From the soldiers' perspective, we do not believe a group of people who will whip women for wearing headscarves that the government should be allowed to assume control of their country and the lives of those people is a..." Chief of the Ontario Sheriff's Office, speaking at a rally in Toronto to show support for troops fighting the Taliban, insists that women is not interfering despite a spike in deaths from TIED.



TD Great Canadian Shoreline Cleanup

Join thousands of Canadians from coast to coast to help clean up the shores of our oceans, lakes, rivers, streams and ponds between September 15 and 23, 2007.

Register today at vanaqua.org/cleanup or call 1-877-427-2422

Friends of the Environment Foundation

days of burning street battles, severely disrupting a World Trade Organization meeting, and the similar chaos of 2000's Summit of the Americas in Quebec City, rioting down street demonstrations has become a central obsession for law enforcement agencies. But in the police have become more adept at the game, so have their opponents. Protest groups now routinely encrypt texts and other electronic communications to avoid interception of their plans, and turn the tables on police by placing officers under surveillance, say experts. As a result, forces rely more on heavily armed covert operations to get the "real time" intelligence they say they need to counter potentially violent protests. But riotous actions have also, and as a result, their own media for suspicious behavior online—like the police who boots that gave the SQ officers away.

The question that will play the director, and perhaps the RCMP's new motto, is again what the planarians men—now in hand, depicted with headsets—were trying to accomplish. Willem de Gans, a University of Windsor criminologist, says an important clue is that they very day and behaviour was, if not outright provocation, at least a violent incitement to violence and parts of the Montreal police force. After all, underhanded police tactics are hardly new in Canada, he notes, pointing to Toronto's notorious demonstration bearing "Red Square" of the 1990s, and the RCMP's duty to protect against Quebec separatism in the 1970s. But Université de Montréal's criminologist Jean-Paul Boudreau says the SQ may have had no other choice. After the 1997 Stanley Cup riots, a provincial investigation criticized Montreal police for not having enough undercover officers on hand to infiltrate and control a crowd of thousands of drunken fans from the SQ a guilty of anything. Boudreau says, it's not being sufficiently discreet. "We found out that you dressed up in protesters and one had a rock. Does that warrant a commitment to force them?"

The controversy, however, shows no signs of slowing down. Alan J. Boudreau, general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, says his organization has plans to file a formal complaint about Montreal police and the CCLA and its affiliated groups are turning up the pressure on the federal government to create an independent body to oversee Canada's police—a key recommendation of the inquiry into Maher Arar's rendition and torture. "It's time for the government to act on this," says Boudreau, adding that protesters are not an clear ground rules to protect citizens' rights to peaceful protests. "That's not something to be left completely to the discretion of the police." ■

A civic brawl at the end of the rainbow



REEVE GAUCHE: Trem's mayor links gay pride with pedophilia

BY DANA RAE BOWEN • Sloppy Trem's N-5 (population 11,000) has made one into a signature. The place has been blogged, and derided—worldwide because its town council did last month what town councils don't do anymore. It declined to fly the rainbow flag for Pride Week.

Worse, Trem's mayor of 10 years has lost what might have been a chance, says Charles Thompson, a prominent high teacher in Trem who became an activist overnight after he heard what Mayor Bill Mills told the CMC when the flag began. "If I have a group of people that say pedophiles should have rights, do we raise their flag too?" Mills said then.

Statues show it's mostly teenagers who are pedophiles, says Thompson, 26. "But people can't get past capturing gay with pedophiles, as well as just with flaming their sexuality. Being gay is so much more than sex. Mills, who did not remain calm for this story, has said that in a Christian he could not have been so stupid."

Thompson has filed a complaint with the New Brunswick Human Rights Commission. "People say we won the fight. We got same-sex marriage, adoption. We've won the legal battles." He expects to win this one. Lawyers tell him that three other Canadian municipalities—Kelowna, B.C., London, Ont., and Fredericton—have had human rights tribunals rule against them on gay rights cases. "But gay kids are still mistreated because they're not accepted," Thompson said. "That's the battle we need to win."

It may take while. "Began in faith, confidence, determination" is Trem's motto. According to a local newspaper poll, half the town sides with the mayor. "Why do you think the people will vote different next time?" asked one blogger about the mayor's election prospects. "Just because they're generally good? I knew the town. It'll be Mills in a landslide." ■

Exactly who will relieve Canada?

BY JOHN GEDDES • Canada's military engagement in violent southern Afghanistan was never meant to go on indefinitely. Last summer, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop-Schaffer said "other allies will step up and say 'We'll take over'" when Canada's commitment runs out in February 2010. And since Prime Minister Stephen Harper now says he won't extend the mission without opposition support in the House of Commons, which is all but impossible, that deadline now looks fond.

But what country will move in when Canadian troops pull back? A new poll from Angus Reid suggests that if Harper's hanging trouble is ending the project in Canada, his problems are nothing compared to the public opinion blowback in Europe. The poll found that 49 per cent of Canadians judge the mission, in which 69 Canadian troops have died, a failure. But in each of Britain, Italy, France and Germany, well over 60 per cent are NATO's struggle to oust the Taliban is "mostly a failure."

In fact, misgivings run even deeper than those figures might suggest. Among Canadians who don't say the war is a failure, only 21 per cent call it "mostly a success." The rest, 79 per cent, are not sure. In Europe, the share of the population that views the mission as a success is even slimmer: 18 per cent in Italy, 16 per cent in Britain, 15 per cent in Germany, and only 12 per cent in France.

So De Hoop-Schaffer's reassurance about Canada being replaced is now

sounds implausibly upbeat. In Berlin, for instance, the two main parties totally support Germany's troops being involved in reconstruction in Afghanistan's relatively safe north, but support for even limited deployments in the south is considered weak. Before Harper dumped Gordon O'Connor as his defence minister in August, the retired general was screening the need to train Afghan soldiers quickly. "There is was on to something." ■

SEE THIS IS
BROADBAND'S MAJOR
MARKET POTENTIAL

AND THIS IS
YOU PLANNING
HOW TO GET
EVERYONE
CONNECTED

HERE WE ARE
HELPING YOU
MAP OUT THE BEST
OPPORTUNITIES

Our team is working with you to help you plan for the future. We're not just talking about it. They simply expect it as any device, anytime. Whether it's enjoying the game live or preparing for events. Anywhere, connectivity opens up endless new markets and opportunities. New horizons. Talk to us and find out how Full Service Broadband can help you realize dreams take off. ericsson.ca/705



TALK TO US ABOUT
FULL SERVICE BROADBAND

ERICSSON
TAKING YOU FORWARD

3



Fighting for the soul of Turkey

Can an Islamic nation founded on secularism continue to survive the politics of faith?

BY ADRIAN S. ZEHAN • In Turkey, even the winds have meaning. There is the *sevalik*, a hot dry wind from the south associated with desiccation; *donu*'s the *doğu*, the north, with a tendency toward lesser faith; then there's the *kuzeybatı* *göçmen*, winds from the north forecasting storms, winds from the north forecasting storms—so they are currently doing in Turkish politics.

After a spring season in which the Islamic-leaning Justice and Development Party (AKP) and secularists, including the army, faced off

over the appointment of Abdullah Gül as the country's new president, the *sevalik* died in early elections on July 22. The AKP was a resounding victory, garnering nearly half of the popular vote—a 14 per cent jump from its previous election results. Then, last Tuesday, Gül, advised by Muslim and AKP members, finally won the presidency after three preliminary votes—in the first of five ballots if necessary—winning from the military. All that has set off a political debate in Turkey virtually unparalleled in its history, with the Islamic movement emboldened and secularists, who claim to be Turkey's founding principles, on the defensive. "How the Turkish experiment will unfold," says Selah Ödemiş, professor of political science at Bilkent University in Istanbul, "is not going to be important just for Turkey itself, but it will have repercussions."

The biggest danger now is whether Gül's accession to the presidency, a powerful position not only symbolically but also in practical and political terms, will deepen the divide within Turkish society. Some observers at the European Parliament had hoped the AKP, led by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, would choose a less divisive figure, someone without Islamist roots such as secularist Köksal Toptan, the newly elected speaker of parliament. The decision to push through Gül, they fear, may be a sign that the AKP knows it has a stronghold on the loaves of Turkish power.

What that means for the future of Turkey, a key member of NATO, remains to be seen. From Washington's perspective, the benefits of having an Islamic nation with a functioning, Western-style secular democracy is an oxymoron. The fact that Turkey's current government structure is now dominated by a single party with the leading Islamic appeal represents a powerful symbol that the Bush administration can wield in its mission to democratize the Muslim world. "We're not going to respect their traditions, but critics have doubts



too." And as it should seem like a gift to U.S. Republicans, Pakistan's ambassador to Turkey wrote in a recent commentary piece that his government, led by beleaguered President Pervez Musharraf, views Turkey as a model for reform in Pakistan. (Conservative Muslims in his country differ in neighboring Afghanistan on things only they recognize Turkey has in common: Muslim faith. "Turkey" means my with open contempt. "Those word's not Muslim.")

But to use the word "Islam" in any Turkish political context is misleading: the fact remains that Turkey is anything but a democratic Muslim country. Officially, it is a secular state—officially secular in the same way as France, with religion constitutionally banned from playing any role in politics, education and even, in some cases, society

itself. Political parties won't even a mildly religious platform; not even a religious education from any of the state-controlled mosques is not recognized by universities. Alcohol laws are more liberal than in most Western nations, and any attempt to tighten them is met with cries of blasphemy by devout Muslims. Though some have even claimed that since the AKP took power, alcohol licenses are harder to come by.

Will that change now that religion reigns in Turkey's presidential politics? There is no evidence to support that possibility. During the AKP's first term in power, restrictions on religious education were loosened and the subsequent fall-term enrollment rate in madrasas jumped from 3,000 to 4,500, while the number of part-time madrasas doubled to 100,000. During the same period, the AKP attempted to amend laws to make religious education the equivalent of a high school diploma, but the proposals were vetoed by then-president Ahmet Necdet Sezer, a secularist. With Sezer now making way for the more religiously minded Gül, and the religious education now bedrock in the presidential agenda, many fear the amendments will be pushed through soon.

Those who see an Islamic agenda behind the AKP's pro-secular rhetoric point to the lack of political mainstreaming as evidence. But it's still unclear what Erdoğan's plan is if his power base is any indication, a trend toward religious conservatism would be natural: the majority of Turks who voted for the AKP are from low-income, traditionalist segments of society. When the party garnered the least support was in the *Ankara* coastal region bordering Greece, historically the richest and most secular region in Turkey.

In Istanbul's conservative Fatih district, many mosques view the AKP's electoral success as a victory for Islam. "It's not just for Erdoğan," says Nurettin Uğurlu, a street vendor selling kiosk newspapers from a wooden cart. "I voted during religion." The sentiment is widespread in Fatih, a district famous for its 17th-century mosque as its heart, shops selling religious paraphernalia that surround it, and the pedestrian-made of bearded men and women. The additional Gül as president has further emboldened Turkey's conservative Muslims, many of whom are looking to the AKP to put the Islam back as what they consider an Islamic nation.

But what does Islamism really mean? For what does Islamism-style marketing of radical or fundamentalist religion, then, the AKP is not taking Turkey toward Islam. And if it means removing some of the barriers to religion control by the secular principles of the Turkish constitution, then

you, dare it that is the AKP's agenda.

This is perhaps the most controversial issue facing Gül. "The president is constitutionally bound to uphold the wishes of the Turkish state," says Özgür Yılmaz, deputy chairman of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). "The president is not a political office. Political responsibilities rest on the government itself. Gül should separate himself from his party

'I DIDN'T VOTE FOR ERDOĞAN,' EXPLAINS ONE STREET VENDOR. 'I VOTED FOR MY RELIGION.'



to come by). There is no evidence to support that possibility. During the AKP's first term in power, restrictions on religious education were loosened and the subsequent fall-term enrollment rate in madrasas jumped from 3,000 to 4,500, while the number of part-time madrasas doubled to 100,000. During the same period, the AKP attempted to amend laws to make religious education the equivalent of a high school diploma, but the proposals were vetoed by then-president Ahmet Necdet Sezer, a secularist. With Sezer now making way for the more religiously minded Gül, and the religious education now bedrock in the presidential agenda, many fear the amendments will be pushed through soon.

Those who see an Islamic agenda behind the AKP's pro-secular rhetoric point to the lack of political mainstreaming as evidence. But it's still unclear what Erdoğan's plan is if his power base is any indication, a trend toward religious conservatism would be natural: the majority of Turks who voted for the AKP are from low-income, traditionalist segments of society. When the party garnered the least support was in the *Ankara* coastal region bordering Greece, historically the richest and most secular region in Turkey.

In Istanbul's conservative Fatih district, many mosques view the AKP's electoral success as a victory for Islam. "It's not just for Erdoğan," says Nurettin Uğurlu, a street vendor selling kiosk newspapers from a wooden cart. "I voted during religion." The sentiment is widespread in Fatih, a district famous for its 17th-century mosque as its heart, shops selling religious paraphernalia that surround it, and the pedestrian-made of bearded men and women. The additional Gül as president has further emboldened Turkey's conservative Muslims, many of whom are looking to the AKP to put the Islam back as what they consider an Islamic nation.

after decades of straggling through strict civilian governance and military coups, Turkey is finally getting a taste of single-party rule, with a united government.

What concerns people like Özgür Yılmaz, though, is that for the first time in Turkish politics, party now controls all the executive branches of government. "There is one main concern," he says. "In Turkey, unfortunately, the political arena [the cabinet and the president] has a lot of power; it heavily influences the judiciary and the media. This is a prob-

lem in our democracy we have to solve—we've got checks and balances, it's difficult to predict how the government will act."

The AKP's program to make necessary changes to Turkey's democracy—reducing the veto power of the president, for example, so that some critical issues are decided by referendum rather than the whims of a single person. The test of the government's true intentions may be whether it follows through on these promises, or if it instead bows to Islamic fundamentalists. "So, we have this in this particular set-up this seeds of transformation in the country," says Ödemiş, "or the seeds of pain? And we will see which one will be obvious."



SOUTH AFRICA: MAYOR SAYS NUTS TO ABEKA'S NAME

The nation is currently considering renaming many places with names of heroes in the struggle against apartheid. One place, the town of Durban, was the larger municipality area of eThekweni added to the list. The move is meant to represent the shape of the bay on which the area is built, but the most common English translation is "bull's testicles." Complaints: "If you upack what a [white] man's name, it just doesn't sound right."



"YOU HAD people who were Islamists walking in and out of Downing Street," Hussein says

THE ENEMY WITHIN

A former British Islamist warns that extremists have infiltrated the U.K.

BY MICHAEL FETTER • In the summer of 2005, Ed Hassan, a British Muslim from the east end of London, was living in South Africa, teaching English to locals. When terrorists blew up three subway trains and a bus in London, killing 52, Hassan and his wife were at their television for hours in horror. His wife had needed one of the bombings by far the most. But Hassan was also gratified to watch injured Londoners emerge from ambulances with bandages and crutches. It made him feel proud to be British.

Two weeks later, one of Hussein's young students asked how he could get to Britain. "Teacher, I want to go to London next month," the student said. "I won't be 18, but born in London, again. I want to make jihad." Another student raised his hands and shouted, "Me too! Me too!" Others applauded. Hussein walked out of the classroom to join and congratulate his students, but he could not have been shocked by their intent. He himself had spent five years in the ranks of radical Islamism in Britain and was well acquainted with the ideology that inflamed young British men to murder their fellow citizens.

Hassan defines Islamism as a political doctrine that preaches hatred of the West and

denounces centuries of traditional Muslim scholarship in favor of an extreme brand of Muslim separatism preached by 20th-century ideologues such as Sayyid Qutb, Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, and Tqyehdine el-Nabhsy. Hassan rejected that drifting seven years before the July 7 attacks. He returned home after the bombings, hoping that his fellow Britons would have woke up to the growing danger of the radicalism he knew so well.

Hassan was for a disappointment. So an effort to reach out to British Muslims, the British government met with this self-declared polemic people and representative of Islam. Most prominent was the Muslim Council of Britain, the largest Muslim organization in the United Kingdom, with more than 400 affiliates. Tony Blair visited Iqbal Siddiqi, then leader of the MCB, to Downing Street to ask for help in coining out religious extremists from British Muslim communities.

But the MCB's own affiliates include groups such as Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith UK, an organization with orthodox roots across Britain, whose website posted an article telling readers that the joys of Christianity and Jews are "based on sick and deviant views of their religions." Another major affiliate, the East London Muslim, has close ties to the South Asian Muslim organization Jamiat-e-Islami, which has been linked to the Kashmiri terrorist group Hizb-ul-Mujahideen. The East London Mosque has hosted South Asian Islamist

Rayan al-Sodki, who offered to Jew assassinate boys and pigs and in 2004 was denied entry into Canada. Muhammad Abdul Bari, who was MCB deputy secretary general at the time of the bombings and now leads the organization, is then of the East London Mosque.

The Muslim Council of Britain itself boycotted Holocaust Memorial Day in 2005, saying they would not attend unless the "suffering of all peoples" was recognized, specifically "other ongoing persecutions and human rights violations around the world, notably in the occupied Palestinian territories, Chechnya, Kashmir, etc." Sacrifice, who once considered death was perhaps too easy for Islamism. But he was laughed at in 2005.

"You had people who were essentially Islamists walking in and out of Downing Street, up and down Whitehall, pretending to be ordinary Muslims," Hassan told Maududi's "Just as we don't go to extreme right-wing fascist towns because of the concern of the white working class, we don't have to go to Islamism to understand the concerns of Muslims. For our government was repeatedly giving these people a platform."

Hassan believed he needed to speak out. The result in his recently published memoir, *The Islamist: Why I Joined Radical Islam in Britain, What I Saw Inside and Why I Left*. The book, which Hassan calls "a protest against political Islam," describes how, as a manager, he gravitated toward the Young Muslim Organization UK, an Islamic front for Jamiat-e-Islami, once running away from home to stay at the East London Mosque because his parents were terrified by his religious extremism. Islamism, the mosque told Hassan that his parents were only "political Muslims" and their opposition was a true front God.

At Tower Hamlets College in London, Hassan helped transform the student Islamic society into a recruiting base for Jamiat-e-Islami. He then joined an even more extreme international Islamic group, Hizb-ul-Tahrir, which rejects democracy and wants to establish an Islamic caliphate that will Islamize the rest of the world. It claims to oppose violence, but Hassan says Hizb members understood that the caliphate's creation would involve military conquest and would be followed by war with the non-Muslim world. Hizb al-Tahrir is banned in several European and Arab countries, but not Britain.

During Hassan's membership in the early and mid 1990s, the group flourished as campuses, often under the guise of book organizations that attracted persons freed from student unions. Its members believed that in the coming war, British Muslims had an obligation to attack Britain from within. "A home front would open up

in the coming day," he wrote.

Hassan's commitment to radical Islam began to waver while he was a student at Northern College, a transition with heavy Islamist presence. Students were canonized between Muslims and Muslim Christians students, with Hassan and his Islamist cohorts whipping up riots. At one much riot, a Muslim student murdered a Christian student with an assault dagger. Hassan felt responsible. "It was we who had encouraged Muslim fanaticism, a belief that Muslims were weaker than other humans," he said. Meeting a fellow student named Raza, whom he would eventually marry, also made Hassan's conversion. He had grown up in a poor household, but the danger he immersed himself in political Islam, the more distant from God he felt. Raza, the fellow Muslim, reminded him that God was forgiving, loving and merciful—rather than the vengeful power he

at. "There is no stomach for this," Hassan says. "To confront these people, you need to define what Islam stands for, to take ourselves as a nation does liberty have limits?" He was anguished to go that far in his respect, fully aware of Christians and Muslims.

Hassan agrees that only moderate British Muslims should take a stronger stand against religious extremism, but says it should be them when the non-Muslim establishment won't. Muslims across the country have shown Hizb al-Tahrir's actions out of their mosques, mosques, like where do Hizb-affiliated and others for religion and to recruit? To orient them and community centers. University chaplains and community centers are quite slow to allow these people to have a voice in the name of multiculturalism and minority rights. So if moderate Britain is content to allow these people free men, then why should minority British Muslims turn against their cause?

SCENES FROM LONDON: (clockwise from left) Muhammad Abdul Bari at a July 2005 conference, the East London Mosque; Hizb al-Tahrir supporters, the 2008 terrorist bombing



'TO CONFRONT THEM YOU HAVE TO DEFINE WHAT BRITAIN STANDS FOR. DOES LIBERTY HAVE LIMITS?'

What most means Britain should be doing, Hassan says, is defining what it means to be British and liberal. "Liberty has always had limits," he says. And just as Britain has banned extreme right-wing organizations, radical Islamic organizations should be proscribed as well. Convoluted these opinions has earned Hassan the censure of some non-Muslims. Writing in the Guardian, Seamus Heaney called Hassan a "two-way pass-up" (Hassan belongs to the Labour Party). Muslimism, he wrote, was a "two-way pass-up" (Hassan belongs to the Labour Party). Muslimism, he wrote, was a "two-way pass-up" (Hassan belongs to the Labour Party).

"The problem here in Britain is that we've got sections of the left that sympathize with Islamism," Hassan says. They see Islamism as an capitalist, anti-free market, pro Palestine, anti Israel, enemies in a global movement against capitalism. What they fail to understand is that the Islamists relation to those

problem is radically different from the socialist solution." Some of Hassan's fellow Muslims have also been critical, accusing him of working for the government or of being a Zionist agent. But others have thanked him. "It's the moral stuff that has gone going," he says.

Hassan believes Islamism can be fought on a spiritual level. "One thing you can't take away from Islamism and jihadism is that they're extremely sincere religious people, and that's based on a certain reading of scripture. We can understand theological grounds, we're prepared to put in the resources exposing them to serious religious scholars."

Promoting a tolerant, integrationist brand of Islam in Britain will be a struggle. A poll of British Muslims in July 2005 suggested



that over 30 supported the London terrorist attacks and five per cent believed more attacks would be justified.

Another poll showed that almost one-third of British Muslims believe that Western society is decadent and that Muslims should seek to bring it to its knees. Hassan admits there are many answers to be questioned. But he points to British Muslims who are comfortable with an identity that is both Western and Muslim as a reason for hope. He is also buoyed by educated Muslims who are confident enough to challenge extremists on religious grounds. Ultimately, however, he says that Muslims who are willing to confront the Islamists in their midst need the moderate support of the British state. "Without a doubt, a British Islam is emerging," Hassan writes. "It means to be seen which is still in harmony with the world in which it finds itself, or it is rejected and rejected. It is the direction we think this critical pressure will determine the type of Islam we hope to find future generations." ■

A visual connection to Darfur



DUSTIN ACCIARDI

BY MICHAEL PETROSS • Leslie Thorman's life was changed by a photograph of an infant girl with a bullet hole in her back. Last one night, after nursing her son, Nico, Thorman found the image posted on the Internet by Mihad Elamir, a Darfur refugee who had escaped an attack on her village by Sudanese government-backed militias and their puppet militia allies. She looked in horror, looked back at the photograph of the wounded Sudanese girl, and broke down in tears. Since then, Thorman, a 42-year-old architect from Chicago, has worked with some of the world's best photographers to assemble a traveling exhibition of proposed digital images about the conflict in Darfur, where at least 200,000 people have been killed and two million displaced since 2003.

She wants those who see the photographs to feel connected to the people in them. "They're not statistics," she says. "We have an obligation to care about them, just as if they lived down the street." The exhibit, titled *Darfur/Darfur*, has already been shown at venues across Europe, the United States and South Africa, and will appear at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto from Sept. 5 to 17. It may also be shown at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, from Sept. 26 to Oct. 3, although that has not yet been finalized.

Thorman is pleased with the response the exhibit has generated but downplays its utility. "If you are living on the ground in Darfur, your life is not better than your death it was last year," she says. "Until there's peace, I don't think we've really done anything at all. But I do feel, for the first time, that perhaps you can say you're doing the best you can. I did nothing during Rwanda. I did nothing during Cambodia. I wasn't alive during the Holocaust. I wanted to be able to tell Nico that I loved something." ■

Munger and Woot: (This page, from top) Malnianshi children end at a meeting center in Sudan. Chasid, not far from the border with Sudan, refugees children learn their names at an open-air Islamic school in the relief Sudanese Liberation Army or guard.

File and Woot: (Opposite) The village of Uru Zelle lies in the shadow of a night by armed fighters. Rebel soldiers with their equipment stuck in the mud during a rainstorm.



MICHAEL ACCIARDI



MICHAEL ACCIARDI



MICHAEL ACCIARDI



MICHAEL ACCIARDI



PHOTO BY JAMES WATSON



PHOTO BY JAMES WATSON



PHOTO BY JAMES WATSON



PHOTO BY JAMES WATSON

Life and death: (opposite page, from top) Refugees wait near a well. Local rebels inside a camp in Darfur. Sudanese rebels dig a grave for a fellow unfortunate.

War and its consequences: (this page, clockwise from top) A distressed child in Nyala. Women displaced from the village of Tanta. A week after it had been attacked by armed soldiers, a destroyed village near Nyala. SLA soldiers own at Haxkama.



PHOTO BY JAMES WATSON



PHOTO BY JAMES WATSON

Without good health,
where will you be?



With more key nutrients, new CENTRUM Advantage
helps protect your health today, and down the road.

Wouldn't it be nice if you could help safeguard your future health? Taking new CENTRUM Advantage every day can do just that. Compared to regular multivitamins, new CENTRUM Advantage's scientifically advanced formula has higher levels of key vitamins and minerals. Which means greater protection against certain serious illnesses.

Key Nutrients:	Helps Protect:
B6, B12, folic acid, lycopene, selenium	Cardiovascular System
Lutein, vitamin C, vitamin E	Eyes
Vitamin D, folic acid	Breast
Selenium, lycopene, vitamin E	Prostate
Vitamin D, folic acid, selenium	Colon
Calcium, vitamin D	Bones



The advantage of extra protection.

It's true that regular exercise and a balanced diet play an important role in good health. But an article published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association** concluded that most people don't get the nutrients they need from diet alone, and that a poor vitamin intake can be a risk factor for chronic illnesses.

So get extra protection – complete from A to Z. And enjoy a healthier future.

www.centrum.ca

Be sure this product is right for you. Please read and follow the label.

*Fletcher RH. Pa of old KM. Vitamin use for Chronic Disease Prevention in Adults. JAMA. 2002;287:3123-3128

INFORMATION SUPPLEMENT



The Arthritis Society

FOCUS ON OSTEOARTHRITIS: from awareness to action

Among the more than 100 varieties of arthritis, osteoarthritis is by far the most common – and in many ways, the most neglected. Here's what Canadian researchers and The Arthritis Society are doing to change that.

If you're like many Canadians who view arthritis as an unwelcome but unavoidable part of aging, given how often we move our joints, it seems to make mechanical sense that they would wear out after a time, doesn't it?

Not quite. Although the odds of getting osteoarthritis (OA), the most common form of the disease, do indeed rise sharply with age, many older people do not get it – and some younger people do. In fact, "OA may be increasing in younger populations," says Dr. Jane E. Aubin, the Toronto-based Senior

Director of the Institute of Musculoskeletal Health and Arthritis (IMHA) and Professor of Molecular and Medical Genetics and Director of the bone program in the Centre for Modeling Human Disease in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Toronto. "We're not sure why."

Noting the need for more research on the steps of arthritis prevention, Dr. Aubin mentions that "arthritis has not received the attention or money that would be warranted by its prevalence or economic burden." The reason? "There's still a perception that OA just

happens and you can't do much about it," says John Fleming, president and CEO of The Arthritis Society, Canada's one-stop resource for people with arthritis. The Society aims to dispel the shrouded shoulder response to OA that still lingers in our society. "The disease is not inevitable," says Fleming, and even if you get it, "diet, exercise and medication can combine to lighten the burden of OA so that quality of life is preserved."

Here's a look at what Canadian researchers and The Arthritis Society have been doing to raise awareness about OA – and translate this awareness into action.

Searching for answers

What if we could predict the course of OA from the time of diagnosis? What if we could know how soon a person with OA of the knee or hip would require

ThermaCare

HeatWraps

Does frequent arthritis joint pain keep you from doing the things you enjoy?

With 8 hours of continuous therapeutic heat exactly where you need it, you can relieve arthritis joint pain and get back to living life!



Proud sponsor of
The Arthritis Society

ARTHRITIS HeatWraps



Coming this fall...

New ThermaCare Arthritis HeatWraps with 12 hours of heat*

*ThermaCare Arthritis HeatWraps for Neck, Wrist, and Knee. ThermaCare Arthritis HeatWraps for Elbow and Shoulder.

joint replacement surgery? And what if this knowledge could help delay the need for such surgery? These questions have been top-of-mind for Dr. Jolanda Cibere of the Arthritis Research Centre of Canada (ARCC) which receives funding from The Arthritis Society.

"If we could pinpoint these patients at high risk of having a rapid progression of their disease, we could have them start taking powerful, disease-modifying drugs right from the start," notes Dr. Cibere, an assistant professor of medicine at the University of British Columbia. To this end, Dr. Cibere plans to collect clinical, biochemical and radiographic data in a group of patients with early OA of the knee over a period of 3 years. If all goes well, this initiative will uncover risk factors for rapidly progressive disease. Armed with this information, doctors can intervene earlier and more aggressively in these high-risk patients.

Dr. Cibere has already broken new ground by demonstrating that X-rays don't necessarily pick up OA detected by magnetic resonance imaging (MRI). Dr. John Esdaile, a Vancouver rheumatologist and ARCC researcher, along with his expert team are currently working to create a diagnostic tool that combines MRI, a specialized clinical exam, and results from blood tests. "We plan to try out the tool on people [identified through a Vancouver survey] with very early knee pain," he says. "We hope it will speed up diagnosis."

Along the same lines, Dr. Esdaile's team is conducting a study to determine

IMPROVEMENT SUPPLEMENT

whether pharmacists could expedite the diagnosis of OA. Pharmacists participating in his study will use two sample questionnaires to identify people who may have undiagnosed knee OA. Suitable candidates will have the opportunity to be seen by a rheumatologist.



Dr. John Esdaile

severity of the pain, it can interfere with a person's ability to do their job and certainly affect the quality of their lives."

What sometimes gets lost in the scramble to understand the biology of OA is the person affected by the disease. "We need to remember that the disease brings a radical change in the way people live their lives," says Dr. Esdaile. "They have to make tough decisions about what they have the strength and energy to do, prioritizing certain aspects of their lives and foregoing others." In response to the research gap in this area, Dr. Esdaile and several colleagues have launched a research project called Measuring What Matters: Participation in Everyday Life. "We'll be examining the impact of osteoarthritis on important roles and activities such as paid work, the home, social life, hobbies, leisure activities and personal relationships," he says. In short, "the effect of OA on quality of life."

"OA CAN BE EXTREMELY PAINFUL. DEPENDING ON ITS LOCATION AND THE SEVERITY OF THE PAIN, IT CAN INTERFERE WITH A PERSON'S ABILITY TO DO THEIR JOB AND CERTAINLY AFFECT THE QUALITY OF THEIR LIVES."

"The earlier the diagnosis, the more benefit patients derive from weight loss and physical activity," says Dr. Esdaile. "OA can be extremely painful. Depending on its location and the

Up for a challenge?

Research has made it abundantly clear that a healthy lifestyle helps manage and delay OA. Consider the fact that recent data shows one out of 10 knee

DOUBLE YOUR DONATION!

In September, every dollar you donate to arthritis research will be matched by Pfizer Canada Inc., up to \$25,000. Support vital arthritis research, funded by The Arthritis Society and improve the lives of nearly 4.5 million Canadians living with this disease. Donate now at

www.arthritis.ca



ISN'T IT GREAT WHEN WE ALL GET ALONG?

Living together in harmony is what it's all about. When used as directed, **TYLENOL®** Arthritis Pain is unlikely to interact with prescription medications. And it provides long-lasting pain relief — up to 8 hours. To be sure this product is right for you, always read and follow the directions on the label. So go ahead. Give peace a chance.

Check with your doctor
about any possible drug
interactions.



replacement patients and eight out of 10 top replacement patients were either overweight or obese.

"Excess weight places more stress on joints and an inactive lifestyle loads muscles to weaken, which compromises their ability to support the joints," Dr. Edsall explains. "This combination — greater load and less support — can hasten the development or progression of OA. By the same token, exercise and weight control combine to strengthen joints and lighten the load they bear."

To inspire Canadians with arthritis to make healthier lifestyle choices, The Arthritis Society created a program called the Lifestyle Makeover Challenge, which encourages participants to make small and manageable changes rather than large and daunting ones. Launched in 2006, the program not only benefits people with existing arthritis, but those interested in preventing it, says Fleming, who took the challenge himself.

The program's philosophy rests on the notion that "small actions can create bigger outcomes." A 30-pound weight loss, for instance, can reduce the number of future "OA years" by as much as 50 percent. The same 30-pound

weight loss can decrease pressure on the knees by 40 pounds.

Vincent Richter, 50, an Ottawa, has said the Lifestyle Makeover Challenge is an important milestone in his journey toward better health. Four years ago, at 42, Richter, had almost given up hope of ever leading a normal life. Obese, totally inactive and quickly losing the ability to walk, Richter experienced such debilitating pain from his OA that even the maximum daily dose of the medications he was taking hardly helped. For years, Richter had resisted the challenge of improving his lifestyle, blaming his inertia on "job stress" or

his physician, who referred him to a weight management clinic and other specialists to assess his various health impairments.

Slow but constant progress on several fronts began to offer hope. The real breakthrough came when his physiotherapist suggested water-based exercises, which eventually led him to the local swimming pool. The experience transformed him. "I was amazed that so little exercise could make me feel so good," he says. "I almost felt guilty that I was getting more than the membership fee I was paying. I was getting my life back."

**"I WAS AMAZED THAT SO LITTLE EXERCISE
COULD MAKE ME FEEL SO GOOD... I WAS
GETTING MY LIFE BACK."**

"reluctance stress" or other life pressures. "I was contemplating living the rest of my life in a wheelchair, or even worse, in bed," he recalls. "That's how bad it was."

Then came the epiphany. "I finally realized that the stress was always going to be there, the pressure was always going to be there," he says. "If I wanted to get my life back, I was going to have to work for it." Richter contacted

On the exterior front Richter gradually switched from his habitual regimen of "predominantly carbs" to a more balanced eating plan. "When I eat now there is to good carbs such as fruits, vegetables and whole wheat products. The food also seems to taste better," he says. Losing weight has never come easily to Richter, who says he has a genetic predisposition to pack on the pounds. At over 400 pounds when he got started, he knew a big challenge lay ahead. Soon after embarking on his weight-loss journey — a one-step-forward, two-steps-backward effort — Richter heard about the Lifestyle Makeover Challenge and decided it was just what he needed to stay motivated. "I saw it as an opportunity to take stock of how far I had come and where I wanted to go," he says.

Richter has now lost 100 pounds. Although he would like to drop a further 100, his efforts so far have dramatically improved his quality of life. No longer debilitated by pain, Richter has expanded his activities to include hiking, cycling and skating, though long-distance swimming remains

The Arthritis Society
**LIFESTYLE
MAKEOVER
CHALLENGE**

Don't just think about it: log on or call up and get started. Sign up online at www.arthritis.ca/lifestyle or by phone at 1-800-321-1433. The first 5,000 participants will receive a free Thera-Band.

Once you sign up, you'll receive a monthly e-newsletter chock-full of resources and inspiration. You will also gain access to an Activity Tracker and Personal Contract — tools designed to help you get started on your own, custom-tailored challenge.

**Commit
to get fit!**

Don't just think about it: log on or call up and get started. Sign up online at www.arthritis.ca/lifestyle or by phone at 1-800-321-1433. The first 5,000 participants will receive a free Thera-Band.

Once you sign up, you'll receive a monthly e-newsletter chock-full of resources and inspiration. You will also gain access to an Activity Tracker and Personal Contract — tools designed to help you get started on your own, custom-tailored challenge.

Centrum Advantage

There is growing evidence that vitamins and minerals are linked to disease prevention.

showed that they reduced heart attacks by 21% in men and 34% in women.¹

Fighting Cancer

In Canada, some of the most common types of cancer are colorectal, prostate, and breast. Colorectal cancer is the second leading cause of cancer death, affecting one in 14 men, and one in 16 women in their lifetime.²

Prostate cancer affects as many as one in seven men in their lifetime. And while worse, the rates of incidence continue to rise each year.³ One in nine women will develop breast cancer in their lifetime, and one in 27 will die from it.⁴

Given the high prevalence of these cancers, it's good to know that certain nutrients help fight these diseases. In particular, researchers believe that an adequate intake of vitamin D, folic acid, lycopene, and selenium is important for cancer prevention.

An adequate intake of vitamin D has been associated with a 50% reduction in the risk of colorectal cancer.⁵ Both selenium and lycopene have been shown to lower the risk of prostate cancer, with selenium reducing it by as much as 63%.⁶ And folic acid is linked to a reduction in the incidence of both colon and breast cancer.⁷

Warding off Bone Disease

When it comes to healthy bones, most people know that getting enough calcium is important. But vitamin D also plays a role in maintaining strong

bones and preventing osteoporosis—a disease characterized by low bone mass and a susceptibility to fractures.⁸ Vitamin D helps the body absorb and use calcium, and is vital to the maintenance of bone density. Most Canadians, however, have a vitamin D deficiency. Exposure to sunlight helps our bodies make vitamin D, but during winter months sunlight is reduced, which limits the production of this important vitamin.

Maintaining Healthy Eyes

Scientists have discovered that certain antioxidants are key to the prevention of eye diseases, particularly cataracts and age-related macular degeneration (AMD). AMD is a disease associated with aging that gradually destroys sharp, central vision. AMD affects approximately 2.1 million Canadians, and is responsible for most cases of severe vision loss in people over 50.⁹

The antioxidant lutein has been shown to reduce the risk for both AMD and cataracts.^{10,11} It's already present in our eyes, but can't be manufactured and replenished by the body. Moreover, the five-year risk for cataracts was 50% lower in people who took vitamin C and E supplements for 10 years or longer.¹²

The Bottom Line on Vitamins

The growing evidence from research into nutrients and their effect on our long-term health suggests that it's important for almost everyone to seriously consider taking a multivitamin as part of an overall approach to a healthier life.

his favourite activity. "I never thought it would be possible, but my arthritis pain has practically disappeared," he says. "It's my own little miracle."

The 44-page guide lists all arthritis medications currently available in Canada, and includes key points about risks, benefits, side effects, and

IT IS EXPECTED THAT 1,000,000 MORE CANADIANS PER DECADE WILL BE DIAGNOSED WITH ARTHRITIS AT LEAST UNTIL 2031.



The lowdown on arthritis meds

Take the whole pill three times a day before meals, the blue one before bedtime, and the red/white one alternate Tuesdays. The array of arthritis medications available today can confound the most savvy of patients. To help patients sort through the confusion, The Arthritis Society partnered with the Canadian Rheumatology Association (CRA) to create *The Consumer's Guide to Arthritis Medications* earlier this year. According to TAA president and CEO

John Fleming, "the guide is the most sought-after of all our publications, and it's not hard to see why. Boasting a user-friendly layout and clear language,

powerful drug interactions, common brand names and dosages are suggested for each drug. Also invaluable in the guide is a chart comparing and contrasting degenerative arthritis (that is, OA) with inflammatory varieties such as rheumatoid or psoriatic arthritis. A sidebar on nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs) explains which groups of people should avoid these drugs or use them with extra caution. Numbing therapies are also given their due.

The free guide can be obtained from The Arthritis Society by calling (1-800-321-1435) or downloaded directly from www.arthritis.ca/publications.

High standards, high hopes

In an effort to improve arthritis care and prevention across Canada, a coalition of arthritis stakeholders developed 12 national standards at a summit meeting in late 2005. "These standards represent what we consider the minimum acceptable levels of arthritis care and prevention for Canadians," notes Fleming.

Drafted by the Alliance for the Canadian Arthritis Program (ACAP), which represents more than 30 arthritis organizations, and distributed to governments across the country, the standards give top priority to the following objectives:

- Every Canadian must be aware of arthritis.
- All relevant health professionals must be able to perform a valid, standardized, age-appropriate musculoskeletal screening assessment.
- Every Canadian with arthritis must have timely and equal access to appropriate medications.

The new, other standards laid out by ACAP cover an array of issues ranging from access to information (including the importance of a healthy weight and physical activity) to post-assessment evaluation of arthritis medications as part of the drug approval process and limitations on wait times for joint surgery.

The issue of public awareness has long plagued arthritis—especially OA. "Think of all the statistics around cancer or heart disease which the public perceives as serious and possibly preventable conditions," says Fleming. Not only do many people misperceive OA as an inescapable fact of aging, he says, but they routinely underestimate its impact on quality of life. "We're continuing with media, government and policymakers to make sure arthritis gets and stays on the radar and Canadians learn how to fight it!"

A great first step is to learn more at our website at www.arthritis.ca.

An article published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* confirmed what most of us already know: most people don't get the nutrients they need from diet, and that a poor vitamin intake can be a risk factor for certain chronic diseases.¹

But what's also been confirmed by recent studies is that specific nutrients appear to be linked to the prevention of certain diseases—particularly cardiovascular disease, cancer, osteoporosis, and even eye diseases such as macular degeneration and cataracts.

Preventing Cardiovascular Disease

Although regular exercise and a balanced diet play a significant role in a healthy heart, specific nutrients have emerged as true "heart health heroes," such as lycopene, vitamins B6, B12, and folic acid.

Cardiovascular disease is the main cause of death among Canadians. Fortunately, studies have shown that lycopene—a powerful antioxidant that neutralizes the damage of free radicals in our body—can help reduce the risk.² In addition, vitamins B6, B12, and folic acid have been found to significantly reduce high homocysteine levels in the blood, which is believed to be a risk factor for cardiovascular disease.³

As one final bit of proof in support of a daily multivitamin, a recent Swedish study

www.centrum.ca

References: 1. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 2. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 3. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 4. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 5. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 6. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 7. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 8. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 9. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 10. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 11. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600. 12. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2005; 293: 2593-2600.



ON NEWSSTANDS MAY 22, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS MAY 15, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS SEPT. 21, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS NOV. 17, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS MAY 17, 2007



ON NEWSSTANDS JULY 26, 2007

APPARENTLY YOU'RE NOT THE ONLY ONE READING MACLEAN'S.

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

Read more magazines about us at www.macleans.ca

WORLD

SARKO—THE BOOK

A French writer pens a bestselling quasi-novel about M. le président

BY PAUL WELLS • Nicolas Sarkozy is adored of his diatribes, big. He used to stay for meals at Levee but avoided to Dine just as the French presidential campaign was heating up. He is a blend of an off-the-shelf idea down his head, only for a moment, one evening over traffic snarls at a restaurant in Nice ("She says she dreams about me every night, isn't that amazing?"). Did you try the white chocolate nougat? ("")

We know these things about France's new president because Baptiste Brea, one of



REZA WITH SARKOZY She enjoyed great access, but has few revelations to offer

France's fastest novellas and playwrights, was sitting at Sarkozy's other elbow around the crowded table on the right the blond chatted the candidate up. It was the kind of extraordinary access Brea enjoyed for a year, at his request, before Sarkozy's May election victory. No journalist was nearly as close for nearly as long.

The result of this odd collaboration is a thin volume with an opaque title, *Coche à deux* (Dinner, Evening or Nighttime). It is the unapologetic version of France's crowded full-throttle season, part campaign diary, part confessional, part meditation on the nature of power. Not quite a novel, though most stories are rooted in the literature section—these that haven't already sold out.

Brea shares all of her subject's low regard for reporters and most of his compulsion to spend hours during their up-to-the-pointed only one interview about her project, to the general left-leaning news outlet *Le Nouvel*

Observateur. In it, she tries to make her idea to put Sarkozy under a microscope, and that he rather approached her not to see her manuscript before publication. She also insists he didn't try to seduce her—he is 51, she is 48, and his marriage is known to have gone through rocky spells. "It was trying to seduce France," she says, adding that come to think of it, she should be offended that in all those months of close contact, he didn't make a move.

Meanwhile, Sarkozy's charm but largely successful seduction of France continues. Highlights of his warmer reaction to an *agony* *Wolff* book, N.H., came included doctored screenshots of the travelling press corps and a floating trotter aimed at two astonished American photographers who, in Sarkozy's eyes, misread their own too close to his own. One photo from that newspaper was doctored in Paris Match, a magazine owned by a close friend of Sarkozy's, to remove unflattering bulges around the presidential crotch.

And last week the Elysée Palace announced perhaps no one would not be permitted to question Cécilia Sarkozy, the president's wife, about her role in securing the release of Bulgarian names who had been imprisoned and tortured in Libya. Sarkozy himself had held a new confidence score: Brea's letter version in July, but when it became controversial because the release seemed to have granted the way for hundreds of millions of dollars in cash and business deals, the celebration ended abruptly.

But Sarkozy's mood swinging contradictions strategy does not seem to have earned the French against him in any significant way. A poll for *Le Figaro* newspaper showed that after 100 days in power, 71 per cent of respondents approve of the way Sarkozy is governing.

Which means there is a huge audience for Brea's revelations. She has few to offer. Her bedrock assumption is that what governments do and candidates propose has no intrinsic interest. So she ignores Sarkozy's speeches and then scrutinizes him instead while he reads the sports scores, lamenting her inability to glean any secrets from his expression. This must be what *Moby Dick* would be like if Melville had used one of his above ships and whales. In the magazine interview, Brea says Sarkozy may regret trusting an author more than he trusts his own reporters. Not likely if he had called on authors over the last three weeks. It will not be because Brea faithfully noted the novellas at this stage during a meeting. ■



READ BRIAN D. JOHNSON

DAILY FROM THE TORONTO INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL



MACLEANS.CA

How to win, in a fight with Big Oil

Danny Williams on why he never backed down and never said 'sorry'

BY COLIN CAMPBELL—It was a tough fight. Newfoundland and Labrador Premier Danny Williams stood head-on to the giant of Big Oil—one of the most powerful industries on the planet. At stake was the multi-billion-dollar offshore oil deal that would, said Williams, live or die as he tanned and he demanded. Last week, Big Oil blinked.

Williams did what few politicians would have the tenacity to try: risk a multi-billion-dollar deal and all the benefits it would bring to a province with a bad-kept pot, in exchange for an ownership share in the project and a generous royalty system. Last year, Williams practically dared oil companies to abandon the province. "Well, see, Governor's here," he said. "We'll have our oil." Criticized Williams' approach as overly confrontational—even threatening—and warned that he would poison the well for future deals. But the gamble paid off. The project's lead partners, Exxon-Nicoll and Chevron, agreed last week to give the province 4.9 per cent equity in the project for \$1.6 billion and drop their demands for roughly \$150 million worth of tax credits. And all done with the grace of a grandstander who has won every round.

Williams says his "tough approach" was based on a relatively simple guiding principle he's had since taking power: "No more give away," he said this week, in an interview with *Maclean's*. "That's my mantra. That's the reason for us being here in government and that's why I'm in politics."

The negotiator was choice Williams, a tough-talking populist who seems to delight in high-profile deals with powerful foes. But he knows his heated rhetoric is neither an excuse nor a negotiating tactic. "People think it's theatrics or tricks. It just comes from a really strong position and an intense gut feeling," he says. "You have to know Newfoundland and Labrador. We have been hard done by and as a result we're very passionate. I just display that openly—I wear it on my sleeve."

A year ago, the Hebron deal finally seemed like a bad one for Newfoundland. It promised to pump billions of dollars into the provincial economy and to be a robust source of tax revenue for decades to come. Williams was under tremendous pressure from all cor-

ners, including the federal government, to get it done. When negotiations broke down last year and the oil companies left town, it seemed Williams had badly miscalculated.

But if Big Oil was expecting their withdrawal to trigger a backlash against the premier, they failed to understand how deeply his defiance resonates with Newfoundlanders. "Once you dig in and stand your position, that's what it is. We weren't moving," he says. "And

THE DEAL MAKER Williams and the Hebron partners are all smiles now, but their talks were ramrodded and long



the people of Newfoundland and Labrador were solidly behind the government. They were basically saying that they're quite prepared to leave the oil in the ground."

Leaving large in the background of these talks was the 19-year-old Churchill Falls deal—a hydroelectric project that goes way north of the financial benefits to neighbouring Quebec. It still haunts the province, and Hebron offers the chance to put all that painful history in the past. "I think it's what politicians are more than anything," says Williams.

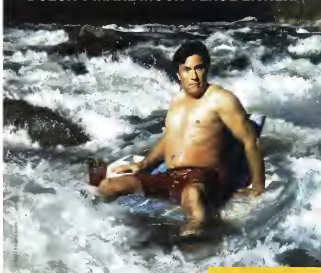
In fighting Big Oil, Williams is many ways being Williams, says Stephen Turnbull, a political science professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland. "It's doing this because he has an interest in doing this." But his approach happens to play well in a political system in which tough talk over resources (and with Ottawa) is par for the course, says Turnbull.

The negotiations haven't spoiled the relationship with the oil industry, says Williams. In the end, the two sides weren't that far apart, he says. "There's a lot of goodwill now between the government and the industry." If bad blood remains, it's with the federal government. Williams says Prime Minister Stephen Harper's decision not to back him in putting pressure on the industry after talks broke down delayed a deal.

Williams says the deal made headlines. "Danny Williams" (left) Newfoundland Premier Hugo Charney, who has moved to a neutral oil resource) came from the Prime Minister's Office. It was a "know-jerk" reaction by those who failed to understand the importance of the deal to Newfoundlanders, he says. Did it bother him? "Sticks and stones," says Williams.

Other companies looking to develop the province's resources can expect similarly tough tactics. "The people we deal with know that when we dig in on something like that, we don't move," says Williams. And why should he? Having saved Big Oil, his popularity is soaring. With a provincial election set for October, his main task lies ahead before the slaughter. Opponents in Ottawa can gamble and call him naive, but at home, says Turnbull, "He's a God."

NOT BEING PREPARED FOR RETIREMENT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH SENSE EITHER.



One means, you've got plenty of time to prepare for retirement. The next minute, you're struggling to keep your head above water. So to help you achieve your retirement goals, Edward Jones recommends investment strategies that have proven themselves over the long term. For a free retirement review, contact your local Edward Jones Advisor at 1-800-ED-JONES or edwardjones.com. Member CFP®

Edward Jones
MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

WANTED: ONE STEADY HAND

The race to succeed David Dodge is about calm and stability



vacancy in a job that at the best of times leaves little to be desired. After all, when central bankers aren't being publicly pilloried for keeping interest rates too high or too low, or both, they generally sit in obscurity. "A good day is when nobody thinks about what the central bank is doing," says Dale Orr, an economist with Global Insight in Toronto.

Serious, with financial markets in turmoil and the very real spectre of a global economic slowdown hovering nearby, some are wondering how Dodge's success will mitigate the questions should things worsen. An already thankless job could be about to get downright tough. Yet there's no shortage of confidence lined up for a crack at the post.

While quite a few Canadians are still busy wondering what the Bank of Canada does, for Richard Barkin, watching this changing of the guard is akin to guessing who'll lead Team Canada onto the ice at the next Olympics. The bank has said it will announce its full who will take over as governor for the next seven years soon. Almost daily, the list of run-didlers being bandied about by economists, analysts and academics seems to grow. One

the race in nine or 10 minutes, one horse up again and again. Paul Jenkins, Dodge's steady-handed No. 2 and a Bank of Canada vice, is known as Bar Muck Carney, a former Bay Street investment-broker-turned-bro-worler at the Ministry of Finance, screams the dark horse in the race. With a doctrine that will be as much about politics as about each candidate's ability to grasp and explain the complexities of monetary policy, no-one is assured an easy victory.

What observers want to see most of all is David Dodge, Part II—someone who can carry on exactly where the pipe smoking, gravel-roled banker leaves off when he turns at the bank door. That will mean continuing to focus on the Bank of Canada's two basic mandates: fighting inflation and ensuring short-term financial crises when they arise. Investors and economists haven't had



with the U.S. His caribou helped raise the profile of the buck among Canadians, and observers are now scanning the field for candidates that can fill a similar mandate.

Aside from Johnson, there are other likely contenders already working under the bank. David Longworth and Jeff Maddams, both deputy governors, have been heavily involved with research projects at the bank. Meanwhile, Steve Duggan, another bank deputy and the only nonmember among the top contenders, is seen by some observers as a strong candidate who has so far been overlooked. Then there are those former bank staff who have moved on to other job but are still in the running, such as Stephen Paine, chief economist at Export Development Canada, and William White, who now works for the Bank for International Settlements. Finally, several economists suggest that the bank should look outside Canada. TD's Duggan is a former senior civil servant in the Prime Minister's Department, for instance. He's also had a good shot. "There are a lot of good people," says Nicholas Rowe, a professor of economics at Carleton University. "They would have to be really hard to get into, though. Baku?"

Still, the search is all about stability, rather than change, and that damps the hopes of many outsiders. Most believe it's unlikely that one of the deputy governors would impinge on the senior deputy. "If that happens, Jenkins would be out the door," says one

DODGE NAVIGATED CRISES WITH RELATIVE EASE AND RAISED THE BANK'S PROFILE WITH CANADIANS observes The sub has

Under Dodge's leadership, the Bank of Canada hasn't had much drama or controversy.

observer. The job has traditionally gone to the senior deputy, though that wasn't the case with Dodge, who took the job after a stint as deputy minister of health. As for the outside candidate, the knock against them is that they've been away from the bank for too long.

Which leaves Jenkins and Carney, and most bets are on the former. He's clocked a quarter of a century at the bank, and since becoming senior deputy in 2001 has seen his profile raised through public appearances alongside Dodge and co-blogger Economists who deal with Jenkins on a day-to-day basis say he is articulate and extremely bright, though not as casual in his manner as Dodge. Appointing him as governor would, hands-down, be the safest route to take.

But in Ottawa these days, safe sex isn't high on the agenda. And this is where the proabstinence of the appointment process comes into

play. The bank assembled a special committee of independent directors who are in charge of the hiring process. An outside executive search firm was brought in as an adviser. When the committee finishes interviewing the candidates, which is underway right now, it will come up with a short list of two or three names and forward them to Finance Minister Jim Flaherty. It will be up to him, along with Prime Minister Stephen Harper and cabinet, to make the final call.

It's no secret Carney is highly regarded within the Finance Department. At the tender age of 38, the young investment banker left a plum job at Goldman Sachs in Toronto in 2003 to become a deputy governor at the bank. Then, after just a year at the Bank of Canada, he stepped up his boss's shoes and left for his current post in Ottawa. The first

reform. "There's a lot of confidence that whoever is chosen will carry on that mantra," says Dick Burkton, a senior economist with TD Economics in Toronto.

to have been far more in line with the now-gone Bear Stearns financial crisis, like the one infecting corporate rights now. Should world markets continue to deteriorate, it could prove to be a stupor by itself. The actions he takes will significantly determine how the crisis could have profound implications—not just U.S. Federal Reserve chairman Ben Bernanke whose performance has been under the microscope throughout the current upheaval. The Fed is indeed that source of among his biggest borrowers in America's mortgage industry has since spread to other debt markets, while stock markets have been caught in the downward slide. As the U.S. stock market fell and the Fed

hope is a small rise that could be enough to ease fears of a slowdown. "The risks have certainly gone up in recent days, but generally the economy is in good shape and able to withstand some of these pressures," says Burstein. "By the early part of next year the whole turmoil will have cooled off."

But that is in my view, and it is a world that she is charged to think about. The new governor may have to make history earlier in his first public appearance, while leading the bank in deciding how to deal with the turmoil. Cutting ties further might lead to investors, but could pave the way for inflation to creep up. On the other hand, sitting back and doing nothing could result in a dramatic slowdown in growth, triggering fears of a recession. These are really difficult questions that anybody who is the governor of Bank of Canada will have to display good judgment on," says Jack Mann, a professor

MOST EXPECT THE MARKETS TO HAVE CALMED BY THE TIME DODGE LEAVES HIS POST. BUT HIS REPLACEMENT WILL STILL BE UNDER A MICROSCOPE.



spends such a short time at the bank it seems as a big handicap, but his role as Flaherty's right-hand man could easily make up for that. He's charismatic and capable. And the Hugo government has done us a good service.

dispolitical appointments. For instance, the government went outside the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to pick William Elliott, a federal civil servant, to become the force's new commissioner. Flaherty's voice at the table could be a major boost to Carney.

Whoever comes out on top in the race to replace Dodge, no one expects a dramatic shift in his or her risk of handling inflation is concerned. There is research underway within the bank that's looking at revising how inflation targets are set, and some candidates may be more inclined than others to make changes. But that's not likely, say observers, because the current approach has worked so well. The question of who becomes the next governor is more a matter of politics than substance.

out the markets by lowering interest rates, but it's not clear that will be enough to stave off a slowdown. The worry here is the U.S. economy could slow down, and drag down Canada with it.

Among bank watchers, there is cautious optimism that by the time the new percent takes over, the current financial crisis will be well in hand. Dodge still has several options to adjust interest rates before he turns in. With inflation holding steady at around 1.2 per cent, many economists believe the board will stall out its efforts in October. The

of economics at the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management. "It's not a mechanistic process."

So who will the next governor be? Allow us, in choosing Dodge's successor, the bank will want to send a message that it's business as usual. No one wants to see a messy transition, especially with so much at stake at the moment. For this reason, Jordan looks like the most likely candidate. Carney may be a rising star in Ottawa, but he may be seen as too much of an outsider for the bank this time around. But hey, there's always 2016. ■

POLICEMEN ARE NOT TO CUDDLE THE ACCUSED

When Indian movie superstar Sanjay Dutt left jail last week, men guarding him let it go. Dutt, who has been sentenced to six years for obtaining weapons from gangsters, was released pending an appeal. As he emerged from a courtroom, cameras caught a policeman rushing forward to give him an escorting hug. Eight other constables queued up to shake Dutt's hand. This suggests he has been accepted for respectable behavior.

EMPLOYEE
THEY SAY
WEEK

WEEK

NO JUSTICE FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS

Why only the very rich and very poor can afford to hire a lawyer

BY JOHN TARTAGLIA When Justice Frank Newbold ordered Kristheira Schreiber to cover Brian Mulroney's legal bills arising from their recent courtcases, it came as no great surprise. When did raise eyebrows—at least to those unfamiliar with the stratospheric costs of legal warfare in today's system—was the bill itself. After a few weeks of work, Mulroney's four lawyers had billed for 28 hours (at rates between \$310 and \$350 an hour), plus travel to fly a member of the brain trust back from vacation for a court day in Toronto, a couple of expert witness fees, and plenty of photocopying, at 25 cents a page. For a grand total of \$95,000. (In the end, the judge determined that \$64,154.87 was more reasonable.)

Not out of the ordinary for a former prime minister and one of the country's top corporate rainmakers, per se. But believe this—far what was, after all, only one part of a legal action arising from a miserable business dispute—here a middle-down effect on the rest of us.

As no one continues to disseminate statistics on the average of the per cent a year (and by slightly more in larger ones like Vancouver, Calgary and Toronto)—most Canadians are stuck in a legal of legal system's limit-to-poor to afford a lawyer, but not poor enough to qualify for legal aid, which is available only to those on welfare. The middle class is "faced with the difficult reality that if they want access to justice they must pay a second mortgage on their home or use funds set aside for a child's education, or for their retirement," warned Supreme Court of Canada Chief Justice Beverley McLachlin, during a speech at a Canadian Bar Association meeting in Calgary last month. Her remark followed a discussion in the legal community stemming from a Mulroney attorney's verbal legal scholar Philip Schreiber, who roared lawyers for being uncomplicated and greedy.

Many of us only have to deal with a lawyer when drafting a will and doing the purchase of a home. But those in sudden need of legal counsel (say, a divorce, a wrongful dismissal or a child custody battle, can find themselves in a debt spiral. In 2005, *Canadian Lawyer* published an annual survey of the going rates across the legal profession. A casual lawyer with at least 10 years of experience was charging an average of \$135 an hour. A child custody battle cost, on average, \$6,216 (up from \$45,340 in 1995). A contested divorce was \$8,595 (compared with \$6,715 in '97). And the legal fees associated with a typical two-day trial cost averaged \$103,000 (was \$5,735 eight years earlier). The magazine found that respondents in its questionnaire filed down in '96 and '97. One Canadian legal search firm projected that salaries for

MULRONEY'S lawyers charged \$32,666 for a couple weeks' work



LEGAL FEES FOR A TWO-DAY CIVIL TRIAL MORE THAN DOUBLED BETWEEN 1997 AND 2005

lawyers at large firms with one to three years' experience would apply by 9.5 per cent in 2007 compared to last year. Meanwhile, solo-practice lawyers with the same experience were expected to get a 12.4 per cent bump.

While an estimated 90 per cent of civil cases never even make it to court, just getting a lawyer to do a few hours of research, offer a basic opinion on your chances, and maybe write a couple of letters as a simple civil case—like a dispute with a neighbour—will cost about \$5,000, says Rose Soosa, a law professor at the University of Toronto and

CHIEF JUSTICE Beverley McLachlin warns that justice is now priced out of reach for many



according to former Justice John Gontier, many lawyers these days do less for money up front. "The lawyer is going to bill \$10,000 advance and most people are going to say, 'I'll pay enough,'" he says.

Gontier, who retired last month after about 30 years in the legal profession, says access problems for middle-income earners started in the early '80s when big firms began emerging. That ushered in a new era of big-business law. "The emphasis on professional excellence became a corollary to the bottom line," he says. "The competition side has taken us a greater and greater importance and most lawyers are looking more and more to what they can, instead of the service that they're rendering." Back when Gontier was going through law, a 1,000 billable hours was a good year. Now, going even close to some big firms are expected to bill more than 2,000. In an industry built on dividing an hour into 10, 15 or even 20 billable minutes, time is money. And missing your quota could destroy a young associate's dream of rising to the level of partner.

Richard Strick, the founder of Toronto-based legal consultant Catalyst Consulting, says rising fees and salaries are due in part to a brain drain, and the competition among firms to hold on to their money-makers. "Firms [are] not too keen to let go of any more than Sidney Crosby's salary is," he says. Higher real estate prices are another factor. "And people don't stay as long as they used to. When you have a star lawyer who's driving the cost up for those who stay and that's passed on, of course, to the client."

Bernard Aronson, the CBA's new president, doesn't buy the argument that lawyers are solely responsible for problems of access for the middle class. He claims that lawyers' hourly rates are just one of many factors. Another big one is the fact that the federal government takes in an estimated billion dollars a year by charging GST on legal services. And anyway, he says, the "vast majority of Canadian lawyers are not charging the high prices and are not making that much money." That claim is hard to reconcile with the evidence of skyrocketing fees across the profession, however. Still, he balks at the notion of regulating fees. "It's a competitive marketplace," he says. "It's a private practice and you don't have to hire me. You can hire someone else."

But the numbers show that an increasing

number of Canadians aren't hiring anyone. They are either turning away from the system altogether (having decided, says Soosa, that "justice is doled out based on the size of your wallet" rather than the merits of your claim) or are attempting to represent themselves with little more than a Law 21 Order education. Both situations, experts say, are dangerous. In some Canadian courts, more than 40 per cent of people sue up and represent themselves, but it rarely pays off. For starters, the judge has to dumb down the proceedings, which causes others to drag on for days longer than they should. It's over as long as length of a civil trial in Vancouver, for instance, has expanded from a 9-hour trial

to an all-representations. David Scott, always with Rowden Laidlaw Germain in Ottawa and PBLLO's chairman, hopes that providing the poor with such important tools will have a twofold effect on the system as a whole. It will make judges simplify the court process, and will force lawyers, afraid of losing more money business, into finding ways of making their services more affordable.

But programs like that will only go so far. One of the big problems, Gontier says, is the proliferation of expensive, sprawling out-of-pocket, nonstandard lawyers who tend to provide more affordable representation than they really do. "The idea of going and hanging up your shingle and practicing as a sole practitioner is no longer possible," he says. "It costs too much."

Another reason, critics say, is rooted in the professional nature of billable hours. Even if you're an idealistic member of the new generation of lawyers, eager to work for government or public interest organizations, you're likely graduating from law school with lots of debt, and that creates a huge incentive to join a big firm and start racking up the fees. It makes the 190,000-plus firms, being offered in many first-year associates on Bay Street nearly impossible to pass up.

Critics argue that what's at stake is fundamental reform, and a system of innovative-like making pro bono work count toward annual billing totals for young lawyers. The alternative is to sit back and wait as public anger mounts toward an unworkable confrontation, and legislative reforms that would likely lead to what Gontier calls a "kind of socialization" of the legal profession. "The doctors were very unhappy when that occurred and I would think the lawyers will be very unhappy if that occurs," says Gontier. "I don't want any alternative of socialization as they are."

And so, the question comes down to this: Is the legal profession ready and willing to head off O.R.s and make the interests of independent and self-regulatory issues. "The whole idea of the independence of the bar is that it's there to defend the public against groups with unbounded power like government," says Soosa. "It has become reversed—and you're to go around lawyers to find a way of achieving the justice system—I think that's very dangerous for lawyers." ■

THE EMPHASIS ON PROFESSIONAL EXCELLENCE NOW TAKES A BACK SEAT TO THE BOTTOM LINE



JOHN GONTIER says firm margins in the '70s drove fees higher

years ago to 15-17 hours). It's also hard on the person who actually hires a lawyer—especially in a domestic battle. "Every constant that is opposed to justice on an doesn't follow the rules because they don't know what's going on across the other side of the room," says Lisa Andre Soosa, a lawyer with Toronto-based Wilkie Chittape. Then there's the old adage, says Gontier, "that a person who represents himself has a fool for a client and a moral for a lawyer."

But so many people are taking matters into their own hands, Pro Bono Law Canada (PBLLO) is currently working to establish an office in the Superior Court in Toronto that would have a staff devoted to providing legal

MORE THAN THE TAXES ARE HIGH ON RICH TAXPayers

Toronto's offices have an unconventional tool for controlling drugs: they actually tax them by weight. But when William Hoek showed up some "nice crap" — his wife's weight loss pills, he faced with a fine — he got hit with a \$100,000 fine for "unlawful sale in a lawsuit to recover the costs. Hoek argues his pills, when seized by police, were unfairly taxed on the basis of the overall weight of the bottle and not the weight of the marijuana

WHO'S SUING WHOM



THOMPSON of the academically maddening Bush was a solid C+ student at York, but showed political promise by rebranding everyone's name

DO GRADES REALLY MATTER?

A growing body of evidence suggests they don't predict success. It turns out that C+ students are the ones who end up running the world. BY SARAH SCOTT

Back at Thornhill High school in the early 1970s, Mike Cove and his brother Mark didn't pay much attention to their school work. For one thing, the identical twins were working at a garage after school to pay for their cars. They were bored on the classroom and didn't see any practical point in the curriculum. Why, for example, should they memorize a bunch of "contextualized terms" from an irrelevant social

science teacher who claimed he let his dog sit in the driver's seat on the way to school? They emerged from high school with C+ grades and a few Bs, just enough to get into university. Their father gave each of them \$100 for tuition on one condition—they get out of town. Now, their old teachers may be surprised to learn that the Cove brothers are among Canada's most successful, consequential real-estate brokers, doing mega-million dollar

real-estate deals for corporate Canada. From their modest offices in downtown Toronto, they can see some of the high-rise buildings they've helped design buy, sell, lease or build. "You've got to be able to read people," says Mark. "I look for indicators"—how they sit, how they hold their arms, what they do with their hands, which way they look. Just recently, he saw a potential deal start to close when a developer failed to look a prospective client in the eye as they were shaking hands. "I can understand indicators, how people say things," says Mark. "You can tell if they're bluffing."

The Cove brothers' success in the money game high school teacher may not want you to know. It's the triumph of the C+ student, the guy who won't be voted Most Likely to Succeed. He's bored in class, and comes home with withering report cards that say things like, "If only he tried harder." His eyes glaze over as his high school English teacher tries to wrap up enthusiasm for Shakespeare. He gets lazy now is because he does not want to deliver what the teacher demands that there, in university or maybe later, he turns on and becomes successful at the school things. But back to give speeches to the kids. High school marks, it turns out, do not predict how well you'll do later in life.

High school marks don't even predict how

well you will do in four-year university, says James Parker, who holds the Canada Research Chair in emotion and health at Trent University. "In our culture, high school marks are the most important thing," he says. "But if you look at success in first year, high school marks don't predict that very well." A decade ago, Parker started tracking students who arrived at Trent in first year and found that high school marks don't even predict who's going to drop out. "Lots of other things beside high school performance predict achievement later on."

So there's hope for the C+ student in high school. "The truth is that many intelligent students do miserably well in business because the set of skills required to be a good student does not match the set of skills to be a success in the world," says Michael Thompson, a University of Chicago-trained psychologist and co-author of the bestseller, *Raising Cain: Protecting the Emotional Life of Boys*. He likes to quote the old line: "School is a place where former A students teach merely B students to work for C students." It may be an overgeneralization,

especially the casualists. But some kids, especially boys, are just not interested in defining what the teacher wants. Boys, he says, often think school is "stagnant, boring and sufficient," says Thompson. "They're just waiting for it to be over." Girls, on the other hand, do better in school, even though they're bored too, because they want to impress the teacher. Boys, he says, are more active, impulsive and impatient. "They stop each other's dialogue for school."



'SCHOOL,' SAYS PSYCHOLOGIST MICHAEL THOMPSON, 'IS A PLACE WHERE FORMER A STUDENTS TEACH MOSTLY B STUDENTS TO WORK FOR C STUDENTS'



FAMOUSLY MEDIA-OVER students such as Sir Winston Churchill (top) and Sir Richard Branson can still go on to lives of success, thanks to a blessing word in advice

but it is "more truth than educators are comfortable with," he says.

As a psychologist, Michael Thompson spends a lot of time talking to anxious parents in Canada and the U.S. about their children's performance in high school. He keeps telling them that a C+ does not mean the kid is headed for a charnal fate. High school grades, after all, measure one thing—whether the teacher thinks the student has

So the report card goes home with the C+ marks and the parents fume. Why won't their son do his homework? Is he a loser? Maybe not.

There are innumerable examples of poor students who changed the world—or made a pile of money. Winston Churchill was famously in the bottom of his class at Harrow, the exclusive English private school.

Richard Branson left high school to run a newspaper he founded. Senator John McCain graduated 10th out of 119 in his class at the U.S. Naval Academy. President George W. Bush was a solid C student in his first year Yale but showed early promise as a politician because he could remember the names of each of the 54 players in his fantasy.

Many of successful Canadians were poor students in high school as well. Angus Reid Ranked Grade 12 English but built such a successful polling business that he gave his Winnipeg high school money for a wing named after him. Fred Jackman was kicked out of school in Buenos Aires at age 13. Now he's a multi-millionaire entrepreneur in the software business with 6,000 employees. Ben Joplin, co-founder of Tim Hortons, dropped out of school after learning English (while scoring 100 per cent in math) in Grade 8. James O'Brien graduated from a west-end

Midwestern high school with below-average grades in the low 70s. He dropped out of university a couple of times, and yet became a doctor who, in 1999, accepted the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf

of the international corporation he led, Merck, two footnotes. Paul Clement finished high school in Vancouver with a mediocre 70 and dropped out of technical college after a year, but went on to be North American CEO of a global beverage company. Terry Mosher was kicked out of a Toronto high school for possession of dope in Grade 10. When he was accepted to art college in Quebec City, he didn't have a high school certificate, so he dropped, very recently was turned out. Now, as the creator of the celebrated *Artists' Edition*, the Montreal-based Mosher has been awarded an Order of Canada. And David Thompson graduated from Toronto's prestigious Upper Canada College with solid 60s, only to be told by a YMCA counselor that university would be a waste of his parents' money. But he went on to get good enough marks to get into university and later became the principal of one of the most sought-after private schools in Toronto. The list goes on.

Take a look at all these former C+ students who are enjoying their million-dollar can do at Windsor while the A students sit in town as intellectual waste, trying to score away enough money for a modest retirement. It's a shamelessness from high school, where the A students got all the accolades while the C+ students were pummeled with complaints from their parents. So who has the last laugh now?

Consider what psychologists have learned about motivation to drive. Successful people, Harvard psychologist David McClelland

traits are envisioned, such as the ability to listen, self-control, flexibility and the ability to work in a team.

These kinds of attributes, of course, don't get a grade in high school, so it would be easy to overlook a future star in business. "Like Paul Clinton. He went to a boarding school, such as the dorms of his father, a senior high school administrator in Vancouver. But after dropping out of college, he turned on when he took a sales job in a major packaged goods company by his early 40s, Clinton was promoted to be North American head of the global beverage company, Diageo. Knowing how to sell was critical. So was the ability to cut through the clutter, identify what was critical for success, and deliver. And he wouldn't have had the big time if he didn't know how to manage people—especially in a company that has to sell its products."

Angus Reid used to sit in the classroom watching the clock to see how long he could hold his breath before getting out of there. Reid was dyslexic and had to complete Grade 11 English at night school. Then, he says, "I began to read stuff I wanted to read," and he ended up with a doctorate. "To be successful,



ONTARIO IS TRYING TO TEACH 'CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT' IN SCHOOLS, INCLUDING HOW TO READ PEOPLE'S FEELINGS FROM NON-VERBAL CLUES

Some schools are getting in. In Toronto, for instance, Greenwood College School was launched in 2002 with a \$10-million donation from Richard Weinman, a former lawyer and money manager. Weinman, the son of education, says he started the private school because he noticed, in his professional and business career, that top performers were not necessarily A students in high school. They were often people who had exceptional success, Weinman thought, was driven by personal qualities like resilience, determination, initiative, the ability to work in a team. Greenwood's ethos that time from the soccer team Grade 7 and 8 students head out for a two week camping trip. Consistent teachers permeance, resilience, interdependence and integrity, says David Thompson, the principal. "It's not immediately visible. It doesn't matter if an A student is in the bow, and a C student is in the stern. Makes me uncomfortable. Is he you are."

Meanwhile, Ontario's Education Ministry is trying to instill "character development initiative" in all provincial schools. Teachers will be encouraged to show kids how to read other people's feelings from non-verbal clues, says Ann Glaze, Ontario's chief student achievement officer. Kids might not get a grade for empathy, but it will help them in business, she says. "We're talking about how their marks are not high. They will be stars in the workplace. Why? Because they have the qualities that will assist them."



HEDGECOCK SAYS FRONTIERIER (top) and Washington's McIntire school is driven by personal qualities such as resilience, initiative and the ability to work in a team

everyone needs the same thing—a sense of self-esteem," Reid says. "The most important ingredient, whether the academics are good, bad or ugly, is that your self-esteem is intact at the end of the day so you don't leave high school thinking you're a loser that you'll never get anywhere in life. I think that's the single most important ingredient, and the one that parents unwittingly take from their kids."

"There should be some confidence exercises," Reid says. The grade-9 student would depend on the answer to the following ques-

tion: "Did you touch the head of self-esteem during the really tough developmental process called high school? If it's a yes, you'll be surprised at how things work out."

Georgian College high school might not set you plants at home, but it can potentially be an all-weather, says entrepreneur Bob Young. Young, who comes from a distinguished business family in Hamilton, went to Trinity College School, then a boys-only boarding school in Port Hope, Ont. "My first love was that I was incapable of doing anything I was told to do," says Young. He was a C student who spent a lot of time in the library reading about things that were not on the course outline. He made it into the University of Toronto, but after graduating, when he applied for jobs at the banks and the accounting firms, he didn't get any callbacks. "I had no alternative but to go outside the system." Lucky he did. Young co-founded Red Hat, a global open-source software company that shook up the entire industry and made him a billionaire in the peak of the Internet frenzy in 1998.



Now back in Canada, working on a new entrepreneurial venture, Young is glad to have been a C student. "Good student often see how the system works so they can excel within the system," he says. "As for those of us who didn't figure out how the system works, we become back lobbers or entrepreneurs. That's what makes a lot of us poor and enters into successful people. Typically, any success does not come from working within the system. It comes from reinventing the system." ■

CORPORATE EDUCATION: ONE-TO-ONE TRAINING

With human capital emerging as an important source of competitive advantage, successful companies are seeking new ways to bring out the best in their people. Many are investing in customized corporate training as they try to attract and retain the top people in their fields and get maximum value for the dollars they spend.

Whether it's improving communication, upgrading technical skills or ensuring an ongoing source of leadership, customized training is emerging as a valuable tool for maintaining a competitive edge.



MEETING THE SUCCESSION CHALLENGE

With the greying of Canada's population and increasing competition for top leadership talent, training for the succession of new managers has become an increasingly critical issue for businesses of every size.

The need to help employees develop the skills necessary for them to assume leadership positions prompted Telcel, a Toronto-based designer and manufacturer of office systems and furniture, to seek the services of Hunter College Corporate Education Centre.

"We looked at our succession planning model and identified competitive gaps by skill set," explains Al Bartolin, Telcel's vice-president of corporate human resources and development. "To develop better leaders we needed to enhance skills in areas such as employee relations and communications."

Telcel considered off-the-shelf programs but realized they would fit only some of the organization's requirements, says Bartolin. "We needed an in-house approach that met our unique needs, so we decided to customise."

The company turned to Hunter, which has more than 20 years of experience in providing on-site corporate training for clients including Bell Canada, CP Rail and the Ontario government. Facilitators from the college's Corporate Education Centre are matched with clients based on their industry experience and areas of expertise.

In this case, content was developed using Telcel's training systems, planning tools and processes, as well as company-specific case studies which made the sessions more relevant to participants.

"Numbers trainers learned about our culture," Bartolin says. "For instance, our finance people helped develop a finance for non-finance manager component, using our specific financial model."

Telcel's goals were three-fold: notes Carylene Fletcher, director of Hunter's Corporate Education Centre. "They wanted to develop an organizational learning culture, improve internal collaboration and communication and prepare the next

generation of employees for future leadership roles."

Hunter developed a three-level customized leadership development program. Level one was designed for soon-to-be managers—high potential individuals not yet in managerial positions. Level two was for middle managers and level three for mid-level directors.

Level one training consisted of supervisory and diversity training, as well as instruction on how to offer constructive feedback, those in senior levels were learning how to give it. Classes consisted of seven to 15 full-day sessions, starting in December 2005 and spread over one year allowing participants to take what they were learning and apply it in the workplace. "That way they were able to build on their newly acquired knowledge as a group," says Fletcher.

At the end of the training, Hunter prepared action plans so participants could implement what they had learned. "We met with senior management to recommend topics to be addressed in follow-up sessions."

The program is now in its second year, with 85 Telcel employees taking part compared with 135 in year one. Level one and two participants have moved on to the next levels.

The key, according to Fletcher, is to have enough people at a given level to develop a critical mass of knowledge and skill, so they have a common language they can use with one another. Adds Bartolin, "The greatest benefit to us is through cross-functional learning. We brought in managers from different facilities who didn't previously know how they could leverage one another's experience and have created a team approach to problem-solving. While becoming a learning organization and recognizing the value in developing human capital."

University...!
College...?
University...?
College...!!

Still deciding on
your next step?

HBI College offers a wide
variety of high-demand
programs to quickly
start your career.

Choose from:

- Network Technical
- Supply-Chain Management
- Office Administration
- Accounting
- Dental Receptionist
- Medical Administration
- Legal Administrative Assistant
- Police Foundations:
 - Security
 - Surveillance
 - Investigation Specialist

HBI
COLLEGE

Success begins today

CALL 905.949.9900 or VISIT www.hbiccollege.com
to find out how you can get your career started!



ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT

INVESTING IN COMMUNICATION

The need for workers with specific skills sometimes forces Canadian companies to seek employees offshore. But what happens when new hires are unfamiliar with the language of the workplace?

That was the challenge facing Baritel, a Calgary-based engineering, procurement and construction company in the oil sands and mining sector.

"We approached HBI College in Mississauga [Ont.] two years ago because we were concerned about the level of language skills among some of our employees," says Jennifer O'Leary, Baritel's communications adviser. More than 40 nationalities are represented among the 586 employees in our Toronto office and about 70% of them are second- or third-language speakers.

Communication is a critical business issue in light of the growing global information market and the shrinking workforce, says Cindy Ryan, director of college and business training services for HBI. The college offers a range of customized corporate training services for businesses, as well as short-term courses for students who want to upgrade their workplace skills and improve employability.

Companies realize that the labour market pool is drying up and they're investing in retention-type strategies, including workplace language training.

HBI's first step was to do a language skills assessment of Baritel employees who had volunteered for the training. Most were at the managers/supervisory level, notes HBI's corporate trainer Gillian O'Rourke.

"We customized training based on those assessments in order to meet specific individual needs," she explains. Adult learning principles are key and the sessions vary, based on the student's learning styles, current competencies and skill sets. We adjust the program depending on the group to ensure the highest possible level of success.

Classes consisted of about 10 students apiece and ran two hours per session two days a week, giving participants about 10-12 weeks of instructor face time.

The focus was on business English, primarily letter and email writing, reading and pronunciation. And a key element was social interaction among the participants, some of whom were reluctant to speak because they were shy or self-conscious.

"They didn't know how to order in a restaurant or what to do in a bank or post office," says O'Rourke. "So we got creative and simulated those situations, taking turns being the sales manager or customers, for example. What started as a simple pronunciation class turned into a workshop on understanding the dynamics of Canadian culture."

As participants experience success, they gain confidence and achieve a new level of comfort with the language.

HBI doesn't measure students at the conclusion of the training, says O'Rourke. Based on observation and evaluation, it's considered successful when they can interact effectively.

The bottom line, of course, is retention. "Training is great but if students don't retain what they've learned, the company's investment is lost," O'Rourke says. "That's why practice is critical in addition to the 50 to 60 hours they spend with the instructor. We encourage them to practice in front of the mirror and watch the news on TV."

The results, says O'Leary, have been excellent. "We've done six classes to date and had great feedback from managers, who say the participants' day-to-day communication is much more effective. And students feel that their improved English helps to improve their personal lives as well." ■

Customized Training •
Corporate Learning Workshops •
Consulting Services •
Association Certificate Programs •
Online Course Development •

**Accelerate
your
Performance**
...with learning
that gets results

HUMBER
Corporate Education Centre

corporate.humber.ca

416.674.2472

THE UGLY SIDE OF STUDENT POLITICS



How one university's council collapsed into chaos, corruption and threatened lawsuits

BY ERIN MILLAR

Aaron Tikhov was not your standard student politician. While most focus on organizing marches for lower tuition or representing students in academic disputes, Tikhov saw financial opportunity in student politics. And when he came to power as president and executive officer of the Keanan University College Student Association (KSA) in June, E.C., in May 2005, he was determined to "fix" the money makers," as he wrote in an email to his fellow KSA employees in March 2006. Now, with a new student council in place, allegations of financial misappropriation and real lawsuits are swirling around Tikhov's ousted administration, and his critics are vowing legal action. According to an audit by PriceWaterhouseCoopers, Tikhov deposited almost \$150,000 in unsupported payments in just the 18-month period audited. The firm's investigation led by the new student government says that hundreds of thousands in "high-risk" loans were handed out in violation of the union's policies. As part of its investigation, PriceWaterhouseCoopers received thousands of deleted emails detailing Tikhov's misuse—emails that critics say point to wide-

spread corruption and improper spending.

Tikhov, who studied political science at Keanan for two years before transferring to Sonoma State University in 2005, says he decided to run for office because he felt that the previous student council wasn't doing its job. The sleepy university college campus struggled with low student participation, and a consensus seemed to exist between the KSA and the school's administration. Thanks to his efforts, "people usually noticed the student association for once," he says.

Laura Anderson, however, tells a very different story. She says Tikhov's brieftime stop at KSA was characterized by political manipulation and rampant overspending. "It made me sick to my stomach. I couldn't stand it," she says. "The way he ran things at KSA was terrible." "They were basically gambling with thousands of students' money" And that is why she fought in court for two years to get her job as student council reinstated and is now planning to sue over the forensic audit she and her fellow council members ordered when finally back in office.

According to Tikhov's critics, he was willing to do whatever was necessary to get hold of the KSA and its \$1.6 million in real assets. Anderson also says that he had a private investigator to spy on rivals, and clashed with auditors who couldn't find many records when they accessed Tikhov's KSA office (right)

LAURA ANDERSON FOUGHT in the courts to be reinstated to the KSA, then ordered an audit that found serious financial problems

bullet holes during elections. According to *Wall Street Journal* reporter, after asserting his control, Tikhov allegedly paid KSA costs and staff to do little verifiable work, made payments to a company she believed he had an interest in or controlled, and collected more than \$100,000 in salary and various payments from the KSA. Tikhov claims that the audit is full of inaccuracies and is biased in favor of the current council members who commissioned it.

There is no question, however, that once after Tikhov got involved in KSA politics, the student government devolved into anarchy. One of the first things Tikhov did upon taking office was to call a special annual meeting to make significant changes to the society's bylaws. Anderson says that Tikhov and his supporters on council hired students to the meetings with \$1,000 in prizes, including MP3 players, TVs, DVD players, and an \$8,000 tropical vacation. Not only was the prize not approved, but the draw was rigged, "with the prize going not being drawn randomly but rather drawn as a manner designed to ensure that a friend of the class, Aaron Tikhov, won," according to court documents filed by Anderson.



The laptop that held the council's financial records mysteriously disappeared



PHOTO: COURTESY OF SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY; PHOTO: COURTESY OF SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

HOW MANY
WRONGS
TO MAKE
IT RIGHT?

JODIE
FOSTER

THE
BRAVE
ONE

WARNER BROS. PICTURES PRESENTS

A JODIE FOSTER FILM
"THE BRAVE ONE" STARRING JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND
"THE BRAVE ONE" CASTING BY JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND
"THE BRAVE ONE" COSTUME DESIGNER JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND
"THE BRAVE ONE" PRODUCTION DESIGNER JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND
"THE BRAVE ONE" EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND
"THE BRAVE ONE" PRODUCED BY JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND
"THE BRAVE ONE" WRITTEN BY JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND
"THE BRAVE ONE" DIRECTED BY JODIE FOSTER, JASON CLARK, AND

TheBraveOne.com
©2006 Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc. All Rights Reserved.

SEPTEMBER 14TH

Among the changes voted in at the meeting: reducing the number of elected trustees from 20 to nine; doubling their terms to two years; and expelling four rival student politicians who had also been elected to council, including Anderson. Takhar's opponents smother the vote was not properly run, but the KSA stopped negotiating the four elected students opposed to the new regime.

In the beginning of 2006, the KSA council hired Takhar to take on the additional role of executive adviser. His employment contract shows his annual salary as \$18,200, but Anderson's court documents claim that he was actually being awarded over \$125,000 per year. The Prosecution's Cooper audit found that in addition to his regular paycheck, the KSA was also making significant payments to accounting company called AST Ventures. AST are Aaron Takhar's initials, and auditor Mary Ann Hamilton wrote that she believed that Takhar had an interest in or controlled AST. He confirmed to Maclean's that he was listed as the sole director when the company was incorporated in February 2006, and the current director of AST, Jideop Phum, told Hamilton that the company's business was the KSA avoided Takhar is an associate with Maclean's, Takhar said he is no longer involved with AST.

Generous payments were also made to several of Takhar's associates, with little or no documentation. Takhar estimates that the company was each paid as much as \$20,000 more than their salaries. Takhar says that because the KSA does not have a company credit card, they paid suppliers out of their pockets and were reimbursed. But auditors were able to find little documentation to back that up. Takhar has repeatedly accused the current KSA members of deliberately obscuring their records.

In addition to these payments, auditors also found that the KSA under Takhar did out \$400,000 in "high risk" loans to various companies and individuals, many of which are unsecured. One loan was issued from provincial lands to be used only for Kwantlen students' health and dental expenses. Another went to a company that appeared to have a prior business relationship with Takhar's family, according to the audit.

Eventually Takhar's empire started to fall apart. His assistant's picture of an organisation in disarray. He wrote one of his associates to "stay off the phone (you know what I mean)." Calls to the Middle East say too expensive for us," and he told the staff for "secretly borrowing money." Auditors found that the association racked up over \$12,000 in cellphone bills during the 10 month period. Even Takhar's own staff were making red flags toward the end.

The audit discovered several emails among



The KSA president, Aaron Takhar, allegedly collected more than \$100,000 in salary and various other payments



CRITICS SAY Takhar's own pays out \$125,000 in salary—plus a bonus—on top of a meeting to deal with the council

KSA officials, warning about uncontrolled spending. "I matched up the 2006 source documents with the version sheet. Things went [out] looking good," says one email addressed to Takhar. "From AST ventures alone, we have approximately \$12,000 unaccounted for... a dumb bastard [sic]."

Unfortunately, Hamilton never got to see the day-to-day accounting records in question. The laptop that apparently contained the KSA's bookkeeping files mysteriously went missing from an office. "It appears from the prior council was either not keeping proper records or deliberately removed these documents from the KSA's main office," Hamilton wrote. Takhar blames the missing records on Anderson's team.

In the summer of 2006, Anderson pursued a court order to witness him to control and force another election. Rather than argue the case in court, Takhar's group agreed to another election last October. Takhar says that he agreed to the election because further litigation was just a waste of students' money.

Evidence in the audit suggests that Takhar tried to manipulate the October election. One questionable payment was to Tala Chenna, who is unknown to the current KSA, for \$5,000 in an interview with Hamilton, Chenna said

that the payment was for image consulting work not connected to the election, but he could produce no specific evidence of his work. Emails recovered by Prosecution's Cooper suggest that Chenna was actually brought onboard to secure a chief recruiting officer who would be friendly to Takhar's team, and people to pose as campaigning collectors during the election.

The KSA also paid Doke Investigations \$2,776 for surveillance work conducted on the last day of the October 2006 election. When a current staff member asked Doke for a copy of their report, they refused. The agency was addressed to Takhar directly but he denies responsibility for the expenditure.

Despite these efforts, Takhar's colleagues lost the election. Takhar says the vote was skewed by irregularities on the other side, but he and his colleagues didn't have the energy to continue the fight and decided it was time to move on. He was met on paid leave and fired with cause two months later after failing to attend meetings discussing his employment status.

These days, Takhar has more pressing legal problems to deal with. Last May, he and two friends were driving two vehicles near Vanderhoof, B.C., when police pulled them over for a routine traffic check. Takhar stopped, but the other SUV (which, according to police, was rented in Takhar's name) turned down a side road and plunged into the Nicola River. One passenger was pulled from the water, but Dariah Kowalski—who was seated in an undocumented payment from the KSA and was one of Takhar's party who had lost the October election—drowned. When the SUV was pulled from the river the next day, the RCMP discovered 170 marijuana plants. Takhar is now facing charges of possession for the purpose of trafficking.

The current council of the KSA is planning to launch a lawsuit against Takhar and other former KSA associates. They have also asked the RCMP to investigate. "These people came into the KSA and needed it like their own candy jar without any consideration for who they are supposed to be serving," says Anderson.

But Takhar is not worried. "They have threatened to sue a number of times and nothing has happened," he says. "If they try to take it to court, they will just be warning away student money." ■

"The most comprehensive coverage of the Conrad Black trial can be found at the Canadian magazine Maclean's."

THE SPECTATOR (UK)

"Maclean's, the nation's leading news magazine, offered a smorgasbord of content, including feeds from two bloggers live at the courthouse in Chicago."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

WOOD

"Maclean's coverage was reasoned and arguably the best of the summaries so far."

EDMONTON STAR

"Mark Steyn's coverage has been nothing short of extraordinary..."

THE TORONTO STAR



YOU SHOULDN'T AIM TOO HIGH WITH A DRESS CODE
Bob Spence, principal at Golden Gate High in the San Jose area, up to 10 per cent of his students comply with the school's dress code, which only has two basic rules: For males, an example would be a polo shirt. But when Aaron Perkins, 17, turned up wearing a preppy and he received suspension. "I thought it was better than a polo shirt," he says. Spence says that Perkins stood out, and that school officials might misinterpret him for an unsafe outfit.

STYLING: LISA

**THE INSIDE STORY, ISSUE AFTER ISSUE.
SUBSCRIBE TODAY AT MACLEANS.CA.**

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

Guinea, where organic food sales "are growing like crazy"

But this growth, however good for the balance sheet of organic food distributors and supermarkets, could mean more problems for farmers already struggling to meet demand—which could further compromise the integrity of organic products. “The greatest looming problem in the natural [and] organic foods area is still supply,” warns Calico in the recent CIBC report. “The supply chain... is all too primitive and too small to handle the increasing demand... of the distributors.” And growers, he continues, have an uphill battle ahead as they try to

Standards Board. "If restrictions are loosened it could begin the collapse of the entire natural [and] organic market," writes Casco. "Large 'grey' areas would develop between conventional and organic products, and the result would be consumer confusion."

That, of course, is why the new Canadian organic standards, complete with a new logo for certified products—will be so significant, say proponents such as Summer at the organic office in Ottawa. "In 1988, all import products for interprovincial and international trade and bearing the logo will have to be certified," he says.

But while the regulations will constrain

IF STANDARDS ARE RELAXED, IT COULD 'COLLAPSE' THE ORGANIC MARKET, ONE ANALYST WARNS.



CAIRP: Michael Smith no longer trusts corporate scientists' advice

quickly convert conventional crops to organic—a transition process that typically takes three years to complete.

The consequence, in such a hurry as we United States where similar supply shortages have been unfolding, is the potential relaxing of standards for organic certification. In fact, the U.S. Department of Agriculture is forth an "interim final rule" to add 18 non-organic ingredients to the national list of allowable substances for organic products—due to the urging of the country's National Organic

I know what you say. "Why bother [getting over fixed]? It's a contradictory means of regulation that gets in the way of actually doing something."¹²

In a year and a half, however, organic farmers will have no choice if they want to sell outside their province. South says that while he is concerned about dubious claims, he supports organic production. Even Populists recommend buying organic, the only problem, he says, will be "finding food that really is organic." ■

906287

NO HAPPY RETURNS

Burials at sea may be environmentally friendly but what if...

BY JULIA HOGKINWELL • "You need deep drag water, and you have to make sure the body reaches the horizon," says Cape Dennis Lumbarger, whose California-based charter company, along with summer cocktail cruises and whale watching, began offering full-body burials at sea three years ago. His first burial was a woman whose family paid US\$6,500 for her castled body to be tipped into the sea off the coast of Santa Barbara.

Leinberger believes sea brands are the way of the future. "Being a marine, that's what I want for myself," said the 49-year-old speaking from his marine office recently. "What's the spiritual essence of burning your self up?" he asks. After crabbing and land baiting, "Personally speaking, I'd rather not have all those chemicals in my veins. I'm not using sea creatures to devour me. I want my body connected into another living organism rather than have it dissolve away to nothing."

Longaberger isn't alone in his thinking. In Amityville, N.Y., former military officer and college professor Capt. Sam Hadzimek operates Nature's Passage, an eco-cost company that two years ago started offering full-body burials at sea. Longaberger and Hadzimek are convinced that sea burials are better for the environment than traditional disposal methods. "That's why I'm in the business, and Hadzimek," Tim says. "You're a green guy. There's no doubt about it." With cremation, that gas and gas are released into the atmosphere, he says. With sea burials, toxic chemicals leach into the soil.

To take the place of a cooker, Hadzorn's company designs custom-fitted ceiling stoves in which to place the body, preferably with no clothing, and no plastic or

A group of people are on a boat named "BLIND". A small boat labeled "044" is in the water.

the average cost of a land plot is \$13,000. Add casket, funeral service, wake and flowers and the average package totals \$22,000, according to Victoria's MyCall Brothers Funeral director Stuart Garrod.

In the U.S., the Environmental Protection Agency governs the practice of ocean burials. Longaberger's company offers caskets built not only of biodegradable wooden coffins and squared with a 75-lb. weight, in accordance with EPA regulations. Longaberger advises from his rule book: "[The weight] ensures rapid descent to the seafloor. . . . Cover the casket with an American flag for the veterans or a standard for the civilian. . . . Holes have to be drilled into the sides."

Longbrager is more confident the body will stay down when it's entered than it is shed. "The truth is, we're talking about the readiness of going something, not your ankles, and then at some point, as you start to decompose, your ankles and core start start to dismember, and the next thing you know, your ankle breaks and the rest of your body wants to float out to sea. You don't want that," he says. "The government here doesn't want that. It's not a thing if you're going to be put down there, but they want you to stay down there."

Neither Langley or Hedderson conceal any incidents in which humans have been made to bleed, but when it happens in the UK, the result is great emotional stress for family members who have to ID the body and then bury it. The identification process was costly: that in 2009, Jide Wright corner John Matthews called for an end to the whole practice of thermal use, so

ing the Times, "It is difficult to put a figure on the cost of investigating a body when it washes ashore, but I do not think you would get much change from 1,000 or 1,000 pounds."

To date, Marlow's campaign has been unsuccessful. The family-run Bramsons Shipping Company in Devon, England, has performed civilian sea burials since 1986, and continues to do good business, says director Tim Charles-Devine. "We let the body go at exactly the right latitude and longitude in order as opposed to going ashore and ripping the casket over," she said. "It's won-

'IT'S ONE THING IF YOU'RE GOING TO BE PUT DOWN THERE, BUT THEY WANT YOU TO STAY DOWN THERE'

Charles Davies claims that it was, in fact, his family who researched and laid down the rules that the ministry now uses. "That's our procedure," she said. "We started it. But that's nothing to stop also of unaccepting people going out and checking bodies over. We can only assume that the bodies that have been brought back have been dumped illegally. It could happen in the countries that they've not visited, and it's

body is in a coffin but they're not strapped in. They're not wishbanded properly."

In Canada, Carroll Funeral Home in St. John's carries this message on its website: "It is not surprising that many Newfoundland and Labrador funeral homes have received inquiries about burial at sea." The message goes on to say that it concerns, however, about bodies being "tossed up by a falling vessel." Therefore, it is the government's position that initial inquiries about burial at sea should be discouraged, and those who ask should be requested to consult or seek the cremated remains at sea as an alternative."

As part of the government's effort to discourage the practice, says federal director Geoff Carnall, the application fee is set at \$2,500. (No application or fee is required in the States.) Furthermore, the Canadian government wants eight weeks' notice to approve an application for burial at sea. The funeral home must also submit a "notice of intent" to the local newspaper. Lastly, the body can not be embalmed.

Michelle Anderson, director at Caul's Funeral Home in St. John's, puts it this way: "It's not cheap. It's a 12-page document that has to be filled out. When someone passes away, you don't have eight weeks. The body is not allowed to be embalmed. That would be a problem. We don't have the ability to freeze people."

In Victoria, funeral director Stuart Carol remembers past occasions when he's buried sailors at sea, "but not for many years," he said. In 1992, the government revised the procedure. "The government doesn't want

**GOING
BUT THEY
THERE'**

"As a matter of fact, people who drown here are often never recovered because of the currents. Just in a nutshell, I don't know the environment, much less."

Canadians interested in burial at sea are in luck, however. Hudakson says his company offers burial at sea services to anyone, from anywhere in the world: "We accept requests flown into JFK airport in New York City. My forecast is, a decade from now, burials at sea will be standard operating procedure." ■

GERMANY: ENDING THE CURSE OF THE PHARAOHS

An unidentified German has turned up at the Egyptian Embassy in Berlin with a carving of a pharaoh, hoping to lift a curse. His daughter died while visiting the pharaoh's tomb in 2004 on a trip to Egypt and then suffered jaundice, paralysis and cancer, which claimed his life recently. The embassy sent the artifact by diplomatic pouch to Cairo where experts will ascertain its authenticity. The German hopes returning the carving will allow his daughter to rest in peace.

MAN
vs.
NATURE

WOMAN NEARLY LICKED BY COW, SAVED BY HORSE
If you've ever wondered how a cow might try to kill someone, Flori Boyd of Scotland can tell you. She was recently attacked by one on her farm. It licked her and, when she hit the lick, dropped off top of her. Boyd was looking in on a distressed calf at the time, when the calf's mother turned up. The attack ended with Boyd's horse, Harry, come over and knock it the cow. "Harry was fantastic," Boyd said. "She saved my life."

**HOW THE
DO IT IN...**



THE BACK PAGES

- film**
Greenberg goes gangster
P.62
- steyn**
George's, not
Ira's, House
P.66
- music**
What the 'Idiot'
daughter leaves
P.68
- bazaar**
Philippe Dumas
suits up
P.69
- fame**
Tony Blair
Energy boost
P.70
- taste**
The tame wild
blueberry
P.80

1. 100

1104

1234

100

[illegible]

delic books they read, "she was a Jew I would want to write." But it's probably not the reason that anyone, wondering if there's anything Catholic about the new canon of the Magdalene.

That would be Dutch Reformation theologian

Erasmus de Soto's *The Mary Magdalene Cover Up*, newly released in English translation. De Soto brings together every historical mention of Mary from the first to the sixth century, when Christian tradition about her became fixed. Then, when the influential Pope Gregory I (590 to 604) mistakenly identified Mary as an unnamed prostitute also mentioned in the New Testament (The Roman Catholic Church finally corrected its teaching in 1969).

Gregory's slip turned out to be one of Christian culture's most momentous errors. It was Mary's titillating status as a fallen woman that caught medieval Europe's imagination, resulting in hundreds of churches being dedicated to her (as well as colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge), and making her the only other woman of the New Testament to approach the Virgin Mary in popular devotion. Those other devotees who did not about the potential complicity to realize Mary should consider that, while the Gregory's mistake, there would have been no widespread cult of the Magdalene, and no modern feminist cult either.

De Soto's sympathies are clear, but she's a scrupulous historian as well, and concludes that the earliest images of Mary are both sexy and so bewilderingly contradictory that it's impossible to confidently say much about her. Except that she was clearly a very important follower of Jesus, more important than most of the male writers of the New Testament were willing to acknowledge, and a problem, by the mere fact of being a woman, for an emerging church in male-dominated society. That, of course, makes her all the more present in the hands of writers, and 14th books is rarely only the beginning.

Not a Mary Magdalene is the only woman of the Bible to go as a woman makeover. In October Scripture's last queen will undergo rehabilitation with the release of Lesley Hazleton's imaginative biography, *Jessie*. She was the original "painted lady"—even the use of "painted" as a pejorative reserved for overly

sexed women comes from the King James Bible's description of Jessie—who has, in novelist Tom Robb's phrase, "a room all her own, say an entire wing, in the Birch Hall of Fame." She has more words devoted to her than any other biblical woman, Hazleton notes. "She and Mary anchored"

the two female kingdoms. She nursed Abiah away from the God of his fathers, just as the biblical writer always expects "strange" (that is, foreign) brides to do, and toward the end of her life, she, like Rachel, lost her best and husband, and hands her to her chosen of Israel—worship and the murder of faithful Israelites. Eventually the prophet Elijah uses the terrifying, almost prophetic—Hazleton calls it a foreshadow—that she will be cut down and flung will eat her corpse. And so it came to pass, as Scripture likes to say: "Jacob is chosen from her palace windows, and her body left in the street where dogs do eat it."

It's surprisingly easy for Hazleton to poke amusing holes in this account. The biblical verses' semaphoric hostility virtually drops from the page, but they barely attempt to substantiate their accusations. Jessie's pious are so hard-fisted a hypocrisy they should have succeeded, and her worse crimes, the ones that have made her name a synonym for female evil, are never discussed at all, but mentioned in a single chapter of "whoredoms and witchcrafts," harried by a man who is about to commit suicide.

When Hazleton's book leaves mainstream biography behind, or, in one reviewer's polite put it, enters the realm of "non-fiction magical realism," is when she switches from hostile evidence to no evidence at all. Without much proof, Jessie is portrayed as a sophisticated, quasi-modern woman fighting for a more humane culture than the Israelite pharaohs around her. Elijah and his supporters, read us for all Quakers, are very modern figures, and the entire tale is, in Hazleton's words, "the domestication of modern radical fundamentalism."

From Mary Magdalene the Celtic bard to Jessie the humanist, these aren't the Bible stories our ancestors told. But they keep being written, even by authors who reject orthodoxy or religious authority of any kind. It is tribute to the endless imagination of their source: We have always been, and continue to be, the people of that book. ■



SAMSON (top): The proto-savvy feminist Jessie has often won the sympathy of writers, but book presents him as hero.

In the two books of Kings, Jessie is a Phoenician princess who marries King Ahab—yet another character whose name echoes through time—a ninth-century BCE ruler of Israel, the northern and more powerful of



FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT... TOILET CULTURE

The Culture of Pooping (TSC Press) begins with some interesting humor: Why did Thapar put his hand in the toilet? He was looking for Poop! These days, University of Ottawa law professor Jennie Benardickson is all business, exploring the social and local evolution of waste treatment, its impact on human health and the environment, and the moral (do more than flush and forget it's a little personal) 404 pages, fill the toilet bowl bathroom reader.

SMILE! YOU ARE IN SPAIN



Your meetings will have
a special favour.



OPINIA ESPAÑOLA DE TURISMO IN TORONTO • TOURIST OFFICE OF SPAIN • OFFICE DU TOURISME D'ESPAGNE

2 Bloor Street West, Suite 3402 TORONTO, Ontario, M4W 3E3

Tel: 1-416-861-3131

Fax: 1-416-861-1992

toronto@tourspain.toronto.on.ca www.tourspain.toronto.on.ca



THE WAL-MART EFFECT: Live, high-art heads of *La Bohème* and *The Magic Flute* are some of the masses who haven't had access before

Opera: coming to a theatre near you

The Met is expanding its simulcast program, but will local companies be able to compete?

BY JAMES J. WISEMAN • It seems like a long time since anyone thought it was a reality for an open company to simulate its performance in movie theatres. The Metropolitan Opera's high-definition simulcast program, less than a year old, has been so successful that the New York company just announced plans to expand it to 100 theatres, including 46 in Canada. Music critic from *Nation* turned on *Huffington Post* wrote that we'll see "the crucifixion of the Met as the Wal-Mart of opera." Like Wal-Mart goods, opera simulcasts are cheaper than usual, and bring the product to people who might ordinarily not buy it. But there's one other Wal-Mart comparison: the simulcasts have the potential to drive competitors out of business.

The Met is strong to simulate the same way Wal-Mart came to dominance at the masses who may not have had access to these goods before. Pat Manthall, a representative for the Complex theatre chain (which handles the Met simulcasts in Canada) says it's giving smaller cities more access to opera. "We're now expanding the program to include some of the real and smaller markets around the country, places like Prince George and North Bay and Lethbridge."

Part of giving people more access to opera is making it more accessible to corporations, and Sonnet Hinson, a spokeswoman for the Met, says that the series "is programmed so that dedicated opera fans and newcomers alike will feel rewarded." Opera in English is particularly effective with audiences who don't like foreign languages; the first Met simulcast was Julie Taymor's vertiginous production of *The Magic Flute*, and this season offers the children's opera *Hansel and Gretel* in English. The theory is that people who wouldn't say

home and watch opera on TV for free will pay \$20 to see it in a movie theatre.

If simulcasting is an effective way to attract opera, why isn't it used before? Partly because post-HD technology didn't allow the size-quality broadcasts, but also because union fees would have ruled it out. Met general manager Peter Gelb, previously best known for running record labels (he tried to redefine music soundtracks as "classical"), announced that whereas "in the past, music activities have required substantial upfront payments to all parties involved in the performance," the simulcasts follow a different model, which Hinson describes: "These performers are not, *essentially*, the house. The artists are paid their regular performance fee."

The musicians, singers and other artists and participants don't get extra money for having (for now) shown all over the world. This wouldn't have been possible at regular North American union rates. What's made this new method possible is desperation: with the decline of classical CDs and corporate sponsorship, there are few opportunities for broadcasting or recording. That means companies are willing to do these broadcasts for the publicity value of appearing in several places at once. They don't even complain about the unforgiving clunk of HD, Hinson says: "There hasn't been any objection of concern from

singers about how they will look." In a time when few opera singers are on TV, they'll put up with anything to be in one of these small circles—be it low pay or an extreme close-up.

The question people are now asking about simulcasts is not whether they're feasible, they are, as long as the unions are desperate enough to play along. The new question is whether they'll hurt the cause of live opera. If a city has access to eight star-studded New York performances per season, why would people go to less prestigious live performances by their local opera companies? But David Tuck, communications manager of the Vancouver Opera, thinks these simulcast shows will have a positive effect: he's seen people there who haven't been ones at a live opera. "We'll see if they come to the opera house," he says. "I think they will."

Even if these new simulcasts go to opera that isn't an HD, the Met's success gives other companies little choice but to follow New York's lead. The National Opera in Washington isn't simulating *La Bohème* in September, while companies in Europe are looking into ways to do their own HD broadcasts. Opera companies that can't afford to simulcast are looking to find some way to benefit from Met simulcasts. Tuck says first his company is in discussions with Complex to "add some value with some talks or something." We see this as an opportunity? Of course, that's what small business owners tell when Wal-Mart moved into their towns. ■



WE'RE STALKING... BETTE MIDLER

The stars are all for the environment these days, but sometimes good intentions go awry. Midler recently approved destruction of 200 acres on her Hawaii estate, resulting in a US\$6.500 loss from a special-use resource board. Chalk up Bette: she says she didn't know she needed a permit, and will gladly pay up as well as embark on a replanting program, but explains that a botched she'd rather see recommended mowing down the invasive, non-native trees.

RUSSELL CROWE
CHRISTIAN BALE

3:10 TO YUMA

TIME WAITS FOR ONE MAN

ONLY IN THEATRES
SEPTEMBER 7

LIONSGATE

maple



ARE HIS MAN BOOBS the result of hormone treatment to sustain virility? Is this the body of a woman who eats her anger every day?

His boobs! Her belly! More to come!

Tabloids are an unfailing barometer of popular feeling; hence the awful Blair photos

BY ROSALIND WHEAT Who ate all the pies? It's Tony and Cherie Blair, if Blair's wife's pop-magazine shots of Britain's former prime minister and his hairier wife in the outside are to be believed. Both are splashed across the tabloid looking potently out of shape, he glaucously pillored for his "man boobs," the dumpy, belly and thigh's that would put the Venus of Willendorf to shame.

In season when Britain's leader Vladimir Putin and his French supporter Nicolas Sarkozy also cropped for the camera, the comparison of two active, body-conscious leaders with the departed Blair only reinforced his off-kilter power. "Bylineless his \$500,000 BOOBIES" yelped one gossip magazine, cynically while another (reportedly a tabloid) said Blair with shaggy former Spice Girls Geri Halliwell and a leathery wife Mel B.

What were the Blair thinking? In gossip world, it's never, it's fair game, and so one man's private pop show today's back on news on the Queen's tabloid, penitence of the royal backbiting room revealed that her majesty's confidantes are stored in Tony's private. Editors worship thin bodies, the product of bulimia and angst, and only politicians allowed. Still, Melrose Grindiffs are routinely strangled for such unattractive body parts as well as lies. This week Trust Taylor and Courtney-Cox Aquino are on the dock for the ladies of shame.

Cher's had four children, and she makes millions a year, yet she provides her fat little trash in an outdoor tankini cutting for action by therapy pools. Tony's hairier hobs are equally awful, and his body is a weird disaster too. The Blairs knew they will be puffed whenever they go. Why have they set themselves up like this?



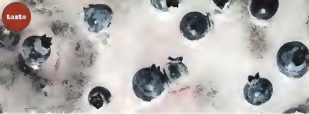
THEY'VE GOWN AMY WINEHOUSE

In a recent song, the British performer sings, "They tried to make me go to rehab. I said, 'no no no.'" Given present circumstances, Winehouse should let them. She was photographed in London recently, bleeding from an athletic bowl with her husband, Blake Field-Don't. She emerged slightly worse for wear, with heavy streaks of black face. The singer was wearing bloody band-aids on her lips, apparently the result of injecting heroin between her lips.

Blair now they're done. Tabloids are an unfailing barometer of popular feeling, and with the possible exception of the Caucasians, no political leader and his wife have ended their term of office so despised and despised. Blair was not the first leader to lose the rack and powerful. Change was not the first political wife to push her nose to the limits of embarrasment and beyond: remember Margaret Thatcher? But they were the first prime minister and would be first lady of the U.K. to use the presidency with cold greed, as a means to get their hands on all the wealth they could.

The spectacle of Blair brown-sauces too industrialists and Cherie looking her last "My Life in Number 10" letters, howling up freedom all the way, dropped left and right of the political spectrum alike. The viral job Blair has created for himself now is a piece of art to the Middle East is a perfect fit. Like Mark Thatcher is his coach. Blair's reign, Blair has found a home in the region where nepotism, cronyism and back-scratching begin.

Blair could be imagined in the popular imagination for his role in Iraq, but he is tested for the size of his fat. Will he go down to history as a cowardly, greedy, and out of a figure of fat? All leaders from Nehru to Kennedy are remembered more for the gossip they generated than for their achievements. Which is why, in an effort to save, Pierre Trudeau is always the Canadian prime minister of first recall. ■



WILD ONES are in demand, and costly, because they have more skin per pound—and that's where the antioxidants are

The latest hit: blueberries gone wild

Are field-grown, cross-pollinated, sprayed and mechanically picked blueberries really 'wild'?

BY PAMELA COUTURE All wild blueberries are not created equal. For one, take their "unzoned" habitats. In Ontario, the little indigo-colored fruits are at the heart of a booming summer crop industry, harvested on forest floor or rocky beds and brought fresh to market by growers. But in the wild blueberry belt, which runs from Quebec through Ontario and down into Maine, the plants are generally less savage the same species of the past, and berry is cultivated on vast, cleared fields, often planted with the help of imported bees, sprayed with chemicals when necessary, mechanically harvested in an average yield of 10,000 tonnes a year, frozen and then, for the most part, exported.

The numbers tell it all. The harvest has increased by 450 per cent in the past 25 years, says the Wild Blueberry Association of North America, raising the question: What's the difference between a wild berry and a cultivated one?

Native to North America, the lowbush blueberry grows through an underground network that is boosted by anthropogenic means or the scorching effects of a fire. In a state of Quebec, Julian Armstrong, director of the "wild" berry, says, "It's really wild, given that they are growing in the wild by eating fire by the blueberry field's edge."

But technically, because the species is the same, whether it's grown in the wild or in a field, it's not really wild. And the difference between the two is not really wild, they can still be collected wild.

Attempts to grow wild blueberries from seed have failed, but that hasn't stopped the expansion of the industry through a system

of management that looks a lot like agriculture. David Hoffman, co-CEO of Nova Scotia-based Oxford Farms, the world's biggest processor of wild blueberries, says that planting the berries in a field is "a fairly technical" process. There is a process for introducing the berries to extensive cross-pollination, a need for early detection of signs of blight, which can ruin the crop, and careful measures of fertilizer applied.

One problem, also of Nova Scotia, is protecting a less intensive approach: a certified organic blueberry. It means to look about a dozen producers in his group, a yield of just a few tonnes a year and a demand that far exceeds supply. "The market could be international, and we can't even cover the market for Atlantic Canada," but it's still a challenge to meet the requirements of organic certification, says Hoffman, and not break your back in the process. "It's very labor-intensive," he says. "We try to have a field that's enough to use in a relatively harvest, but you can't get that you have to do hand picking." He also says they get less than half of conventional harvest, but still a decent amount, as much as a 50 per cent premium at the region.

Anne Freeman is the manager of Dufferin Grove Farmers' market in Toronto. She has picked "authentic" wild blueberries in the

backwoods of Ontario and has eaten it "cultivated" wild ones by the handful in Eastern Canada. "I wish I could say they taste different, but I can't," WANA head Neil Vassar says. Comparing the taste of the wild cultivated and the authentic wild, he says, "I don't think anyone could tell the difference." This is good news, especially given this year's severe shortage in Ontario due to lack of rainfall. "The never seen a year when they were this expensive," says Toronto's Gail Goulet. The price for Ontario's blueberries is 10 per cent and the supply is scarce. Hoffman is planning a disaster for his blueberry event in the autumn and might have to start on the goods from Quebec or Devon. But for blueberry and lavender cream tarts, either way, the main wild ones, not the cultivated ones, but the ones that are larger with a globular shape, comparatively watery in texture and have a lighter, violet color.

Ultimately, it's not taste but a fat for antioxidants and the many blueberry diet that are driving up the market for wild. "The biggest selling item was the health berries," says Hoffman. The fact that the wild species is smaller and contains more skin per pound than the high-bush variety is the prospect in the antioxidants are concentrated in the skin. Canada's natives, of course, knew all of this long ago: blueberries were traditionally a highly prized part of their diet and considered a tonic to purify the body. ■

TODAY'S SPECIAL... ANTI-AGING PIZZA

An Italian anti-aging diet has created a recipe for "anti-aging" pizza, made with three times the fiber of conventional pizza, as well as extra magnesium and antioxidants in the pizza very well as approved vegetable toppings, including tomatoes, garlic, asparagus and mushrooms. The so-called prime pizza is a hit, including with Pope Benedict XVI, who started one at the Vatican recently.



CINDY OSLER

1982-2007

A talented listener, she was also good with marital advice—and with home-baked cookies

Cynthia Ann Osler, née Salvo, was born in New Brunswick, N.J., on Dec. 23, 1952, but grew up 20 minutes southeast of there, in the blue-collar community of Old Bridge. Cindy, as they called her, was one of five children—two brothers, Michael and Stephen, and two sisters, Kathryn and Sherry—born to Steve and Catherine Salvo.

As a student at Carl Sandburg Middle School, Cindy was Frank Osler's boyfriend who'd moved into the home just behind hers. "She fell in love with me over the fence," says Frank. Her folks were strict—poor grades earned groundings and she was expected home for family dinner each evening—so her romance with Frank, a less diligent student, started slow. "Some weeks over the fence and—you know how kids are—playing baseball, tag, that puppy love kind of stuff," he says. Though they both attended Cedar Ridge High School, their relationship didn't grow serious until later when, as a 17-year-old company apprentice, Frank started up his tool. When it ended, Cindy looked after her wounded boss to catch the deed. "You can kind of say that we made a little pact," says Frank. Nothing after marriage—they were both 21—Cindy complemented her husband's career with her own as a nurse. "Well, stop," Frank said. "I don't care if you have a baby." A daughter, Michelle, and a son, Frank Jr., arrived soon after.

Frank and Cindy moved south to Howell in the late '80s, where Cindy worked as a merchandise aide at Coca-Cola's nearby Albany Park plant, now-closing New Jersey yardstick shaves and assembling promotional displays. A few years later she had another daughter, Karna (Michelle would give her two granddaughters) and these nights work as Karna had someone to home during the day. Cindy's close friends—often the parents of her children's playmates—all noted her kindness to their own kids. "She took a lot of children in and became like a mother figure to them—whether you were a bad kid or not," says Karna Pundarik. "Cindy was my rock other mother." A talented listener, she was also good with advice. "Cindy was like a sister—she was someone so confident in," says Lisa LeCompte. "She smiled a lot, she laughed a lot and she was straight and in the pink." One day, Cindy watched as Lisa arrived back at Lisa's home in Park, getting her husband, just off work, with a grant. Cindy, who had a habit of

chewing on the inside of her mouth when upset, smiled a week before telling Lisa how she felt. "She goes, 'Just a little nervous,'" recalls Lisa. "When they came home from work, you can change their whole mood just by saying, 'hey here—how was your day?'" Such comradery with friends at her own racism. Frankie, who enjoys a game of cards, recently bragged tell only. "I gotta go home, I gotta be with her." Karna recalls her saying one night when Frank was over playing cards with her husband. The few times he couldn't tear himself away, Cindy came over with his dinner.

She was a beach lover, heading to Point Pleasant and Rehoboth on the sand, read her romance and play volleyball (far-dressed, she had no guard against sunburn). Every summer, she, Frank and the kids headed to Pennsylvania for camping trips. With big, beautiful eyes and long, curly hair—"the kind people pay for," says Lisa—she was known for sporting pearl and rubies, purchased at budget prices. "They were the ugliest things you ever did see," says one friend, former neighbor and the lady leave. She was a well-known cook around Howell, and local kids begged their moms to make food away like Mrs. Osler. Frankie Jr., leader of a hard-core rock band, brought her home-baked cookies for the boys in the pig van.

Not long ago, Lisa, after 17 years of being with him, decided finally to wed Gary Palmer. In the weeks prior to the wedding, Cindy, as mistress of honors, busied herself with preparations, selecting a Hawaiian theme for the reception and choosing Lisa's wedding gown (the pair favored over Cindy's company as they walked in white, Cindy clapping her hands in excitement). Cindy would wear pink gown with South Pacific flowers. On Friday, Aug. 10, the night before the ceremony, the wedding party gathered for the rehearsal dinner at a local restaurant. When at 8 p.m., with doors closed outside, outside, her ex-chicken farm's van of Cindy, over motherly, to visit Lisa's misadventure, about the same age as 24-year-old Karna. David had just stepped back toward the restaurant when he heard a crash and was knocked down. He found Cindy curled up on the pavement, dead. The bolt of lightning had torn up the pavement, leaving her of sight as Cindy's body was 47. Lisa and Gary's wedding had been postponed.

BY NICHOLAS KOHLER


GARDASIL®
VACCINE



You owe it to yourself
to **check
it out!**
see your doctor today.

For girls and young women 9 to 26 years of age.



MERCK FROSST
Divisions of
Pfizer Inc.

Merck & Co., Inc., Kenilworth, NJ 07033

GARY SMITH
555-1976



Gary Smith - Contractor

*Fine Decks, Kitchens, Bathrooms
Additions & Custom Homes*

call us at 555-1976 for a consultation

1989

2007



SOONER OR LATER YOU'RE GOING TO NEED A HEAVY DUTY TRUCK.

WE EXAMINED EVERYTHING AND OVERLOOKED NOTHING. Then we backed it up with the General Motors 160,000 km/5-year powertrain warranty.

CAPABLE: Best in class diesel horsepower and torque** - New 6-speed transmission - Payload of 5,307 lb.** - 16,500 lb. max. 5th wheel towing capacity.

INNOVATIVE: Segment leading 170-degree rear door opening. REFINED: Exceptionally quiet interior - Improved ride and handling.

sierra.gm.ca

*All claims based on 2007 model year data for GM Light Pickup Segment and latest published competitive information available. Excluding other GM vehicles. **On extended Cab models. †Available on 3500HD dual rear wheel model.

SIERRA HD

GMC

PROFESSIONAL GRADE